In the footsteps of Neacşu of Câmpulung

In the footsteps of Neacșu of Câmpulung

Edited by:
Claudiu-Ion NEAGOE
Constantin Augustus BĂRBULESCU
Ovidiu Vasile UDRESCU

Mega Publishing House
Cluj-Napoca
2021

Câmpulung City Hall
"Ion Barbu" Municipal Library from Câmpulung

University of Pitești
"Gheorghe I. Brătianu"
Centre for Historical, Archaeological and Heritage Research

DTP:
Mega Publishing House

Cover:
Dragoș Fătu

Translation into English by:
Valentina Stîngă

On the cover:
Neacșu of Câmpulung
(Portrait drawn by Cătălin Drăghici)

ISBN 978-606-020-332-2
CIP Description available at the National Library of Romania.



Editura Mega | www.edituramega.ro
e-mail: mega@edituramega.ro

Contents

ASPECTS FROM THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL CÂMPULUNG (14^{TH}–16^{TH} CENTURIES)

Foreword

"The Letter of Neacșu of Câmpulung" entered history and legend shortly after its discovery, more than a century ago. Because of this special but superficial fame of the short epistle, many consider that it was not until 1521 that texts were written in the Romanian language. Which is false, because the letter of the boyar from Câmpulung is not even remotely the first text drafted in Romanian, but only the first text in Romanian preserved and known.

It is true that this note was written in a period of great cultural effervescence, from the end of Neagoe Basarab's reign. This worthy ruler of Wallachia lived at a time when the reigns and lives were short, because "it was not the times under people, but the poor man under the times". He began his reign in 1512 and died in 1521, i.e. five centuries ago. He seems to have been Basarab only by name, being, in fact, the son of the great vornic Pârvu Craiovescu. His lady was Despina, from the Brancovici Serbian dynasty. The sovereign engaged, together with Ștefăniță (Ștefan IV) of Moldavia, the nephew of Ștefan III cel Mare and of lady Maria Voichița, daughter of Radul the Beautiful, in an anti-Ottoman coalition led by the pope and tried to have stable diplomatic relations with Venice. He protected the Orthodoxy (subject to the Ottomans) from south-eastern Europe, Jerusalem and Mount Sinai with valuable donations. In 1512 he printed a Tetra-Gospel in Slavonic, the third book to come out from the presses in Wallachia. He was the founder of the episcopal church at Curtea de Argeș, consecrated in 1517, in the presence of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. He is the author of the "Teachings" to his son Theodosius, a true political treatise on the conduct of the government, with a similar role in Wallachia to that of Machiavelli's "Prince" in Italy. During the time of Neagoe Basarab, Wallachia was under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire, but it acted as a Christian state in the European family, living in a climate of a timid Renaissance, with sumptuous works of art, with the promotion of books of theology, theory of power and wisdom, advocating for European dialogue between the Catholics and Orthodox. Neagoe Basarab strove to maintain his rank of sovereign, anointed of God, so that his country and church "would not be a mockery of foreign people." He succeeded for the most part.

In this highly emulated cultural environment – despite the Ottoman pressures on the "Christian Republic", i. e. on Europe – writing in Romanian will also have proliferated. From this perspective, Romanian, as a written language, does not seem to be an old language. If we admit that its formation ended in the 8th and 9th centuries, our language would have needed over half a millennium to mature and reach the harmony of writing. Other Romance languages were much faster in developing and using their written forms. The first version of written French is contained in the "Strasbourg Oaths" of 842, taken by Louis the German, son of Louis the Pious and ruler of the Kingdom of the Eastern Franks (future France) and by his brother, Charles the Bald, ruler of the Kingdom of the West Franks (future Germany). In other words, the emergence of the written French language was almost concomitant with the birth of the spoken language. Not long after, *La séquence de Sainte Eulalie* (881) appears, followed by other lives of the saints, written in French, then the Psalms are translated (in the 12th century). The first texts in Italian appeared at the end of the 12th century, around 1200 and would continue to expand later on, based on popular idioms and dialects and religious themes, such as the songs of St. Francis of Assisi. *Glosas Emilianenses,* i.e. the 10th-century annotations on a 9th-century codex, are considered the first written testimonies of the Spanish (Castilian) language and are followed, around 1200, by the "Mysteries of the Magi" and "The dispute of the soul with the body", themes of popular religious origin. In ancient Britain, Anglo-Saxon poems (like *Beowulff*) would appear since the 7th–8th centuries, in the form of religious hymns and the glorification of popular heroes. In the German world, the "New Testament" took on a vernacular form as early as the 4th century, translated by Bishop Wulfila, but the writings in medieval German proper appear in the 9th century, under the form of poems with popular religious themes. Some neighbouring Slavic peoples also switched to writing (also religious writing) in their own languages in the 12th and 13th centuries, as the Czechs did, or after 1200, as in the Polish case [1]. This sporadic phenomenon was to become widespread throughout the Catholic world after the Protestant Reformation, that is, from the middle of the 16th century onwards. Despite such early acts of transition to writings and even to some fragile form of literature in the spoken languages, the rule of both Western and Eastern Europe was represented, until the dawn of the Modern Age, by the cultured writings in Latin, Greek and Slavonic. Romanian writing is part of this general European movement, and its evolution is not an exception and does not mark, in relation to other European peoples, differences in substance, but in form.

It is increasingly clear today that Romanians – through their few representatives – wrote in Romanian before the 16th century, mainly in Cyrillic letters,

which does not completely exclude the sporadic use of the Latin alphabet. Unfortunately, such writings before 1521 have not been preserved or are not yet known to us. The oldest indisputable direct evidence of the existence of "Romanian scriptures" refers to the period after 1400, but such writings may have existed before and future research is very likely to reveal them, at least through new indirect mentions. Unfortunately, the data is very scarce. For example, information from 1485, which shows that Ștefan cel Mare recognized himself as a vassal of the king of Poland (as was the custom), bears the note "this writing was passed from Romanian into Latin" (*hec inscripcio ex valachico in latinum versa est*). This news involved many discussions, but *ex valachico* can only be translated "from Romanian". In Sibiu's accounts of 1495 a Romanian priest is mentioned to have just been paid to write several letters in Romanian. Here we leave aside the well-known "rothacising texts" (preserved not in the original, but in copies) that are known to have been developed before the 16th century. Therefore, with all the reasons for uncertainty that persist, it can be clearly stated that writing in Romanian did not appear in the 16th century. If we claimed that writing in Romanian would have appeared only in the 16th century, then we would have, in the case of Romanians, a European premiere, i.e. a people in the case of which writing and printing in the vernacular would have manifested themselves simultaneously. In other words, we should admit that the Romanians translated texts into Romanian only when they started to print Romanian texts. Thus, according to the data so far, the first text written in Romanian would date from 1521 (the "Letter" of the boyar Neacșu from Câmpulung), and the first text printed in Romanian (in Cyrillic letters) would be from 1544 (the Lutheran "Catechism", of Filip Moldoveanul). Not long after, around 1570–1575, a Romanian book of religious hymns printed in Latin letters would appear. However, in the case of all known peoples of Europe, handwriting in the spoken languages appeared centuries before the first prints in these languages. Today it is known that the work of Deacon Coresi and his disciples from Brașov, printing books in Romanian, from the second part of the 16th century, was made on the basis of old translations and works in Romanian, written long before, either by the priests, deacons and teachers near the Church of St. Nicholas in Șcheii Brașovului, or by other Romanian scholars. The transition to the stage of printing books in a certain language involves a previous exercise of centuries, related to writing (codes, documents, inscriptions, etc.) in that language. Therefore, it is presumed – and there is clear evidence in this regard – that Romanians had a long period before the 16th century – that is, before passing to Romanian printing – of coexistence between writing in their cultured language (Slavonic) and writing in their spoken language, as valid for all peoples.

And yet, the vicissitudes of the times made it possible to have the first Romanian text preserved only from 1521, that is, half a millennium ago. It is not a long text and not a spectacular one. In a spirit of Christian solidarity, the boyar Neacșu communicates, in great secrecy, to the Saxon mayor of Brașov, Mr. Hans Benkner, the movements of the Turks who intended to advance their stream to the north and northwest. Communication of Ottoman positions, when the greatest sultan of the Turks had just begun his reign – Sűleiman Kannunî or, in Western language, Suleiman/Soliman the Magnificent (1520–1566), conqueror of Belgrade and then besieger of Vienna – was an example of a Christian conscience and adherence to traditional European values, threatened with dissolution by the invaders. In all its simplicity, Neacșu's Letter has other meanings. The document [2], written in Cyrillic letters, has a total of 202 Romanian words, in addition to some beginning and end formulas preserved in Slavonic and reproduced as such. Out of the total of 202 Romanian words, only 12 are not of Latin origin. Therefore, the proportion of Latin words is 94.06%, and of non-Latin words 5.94%. The proportion of words taken from the Slavic language (eight of the 202) is 3.96% of the total. Examples of Slavic terms: corabie, boier, megieș, slobozie, lotru, a păzi (ship, boyar, neighbour, freedom, thief, beware). The other four non-Latin words are: one of unknown origin, two Hungarian (oraș, meșter – city, sailor), one Greek (frică – fear). Consequently, the Letter of Neacșu of Câmpulung shows not only the harmony of our language from five centuries ago, not only its great resemblance to the contemporary Romanian language, but also the Latinity of the medieval Romanian language. This is extremely important, given that some inexperienced or malevolent "exegetes" talk about the "Latinization" of Romanian in the Modern Age, through the efforts of the representatives of the Transylvanian School. According to the opinions of such "specialists", medieval Romanian would have been a "Balkan language", formless and undefined, with borrowings from other languages, without its own personality. Neacșu's letter drastically contradicts all these assertions and is in line with the testimonies of foreign travellers of that time, who confess almost in unison that the Romanian language from 1400–1500 was a "corrupt" Latin, very similar to the Italian language. In other words, Romanian was a Romance language.

This volume ("In the footsteps of Neacșu of Câmpulung") brings to our attention all these issues and opens the horizon for others, worthy of research in the future. The editors Claudiu-Ion Neagoe, Constantin Augustus Bărbulescu and Ovidiu Vasile Udrescu, as well as the authors of the studies, haloed by the aegis of institutions such as the "Ion Barbu" Municipal Library in Câmpulung and the University of Pitești, convince us that "there is nothing else more useful than reading books". The fact that an important centre of Romanian writing

was Câmpulung, the fact that the Romanian press appeared in Sibiu and Brașov, the fact that Argeș (Curtea de Argeș) and Târgoviște hosted (along with Câmpulung) so many cultural initiatives reinforce the quality of the entire region of southern Transylvania and northern Wallachia as cradle of the Romanian literary language, in a nucleus that, with its axis on the Carpathian Mountains, has always kept the Romanian unity alive. Five centuries after the drafting of this epistle that would write history, it is good to remember its importance, its contemporary world, Câmpulung and Brașov of yesteryear, that is, from times when Limes Transalutanus would remind of Latinity and Negru Vodă Monastery would host sumptuous princely and Christian processions.

Bucharest, June 2, 2021 Ioan-Aurel Pop

Notes

[1] For the transition to vernacular languages in Europe, see P. P. Panaitescu, *Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română*, Bucharest, 1965, p. 8–9.

[2] *Documente și însemnări românești din secolul al XVI-lea*, text established and index by Gheorghe Chivu, Magdalena Georgescu, Magdalena Ioniță, Alexandru Mareș și Alexandra Roman-Moraru, Bucharest, 1979, p. 95.

The Commercial and Political Relations of Câmpulung with Brașov and Sibiu, the Saxon Cities from Transylvania (15th–16th Centuries)

The Commercial and Political Relations of Brașov with Câmpulung, from the End of the 15^{th} to the Middle of the 16^{th} Century

Toma-Cosmin Roman
(Museum of the "Nicolae Bălcescu" Land Forces Military Academy in Sibiu)

The end of the 15^{th} and the first half of the following century were particularly interesting in terms of the evolution of the political and economic relations between the Romanian countries. The evolution of Transylvania's domestic policy, as well as the development of its relations with the Romanian extra-Carpathian countries affected the economic situation of all to a great extent. The periods of peace, but also those of diplomatic or military conflict were fully reflected in the evolution of the economic and trade relations of the Romanian countries. The increase of Hungarian power during the reign of King Matia Corvin, its decline during the time of his successors followed by its disintegration under the blows of the Crescent had important effects on the Romanian countries. Transylvania begins the long journey of self-recovery under Ottoman and Habsburg pressure. For almost 20 years, the conflict between Ioan Zapolya and Ferdinand of Habsburg for the crown of the Hungarian kingdom captured all the energies of the Romanian countries.

In Transylvania, the most important economic role during the 15^{th}–16^{th} centuries was played by Brașov. Favoured from a geographical point of view by its location in the immediate vicinity of the Romanian countries, but also along the great trade routes that connected the West to the East, the city under Tâmpa established itself as an important economic centre in Transylvania. Benefiting also from the numerous privileges of the Hungarian royalty or from those received from the rulers of the extra-Carpathian Romanian countries, Brașov became in the 16^{th} century a real "...common commodity market..." (Manolescu, 1965, 18).

The main trade exchanges were made by Brașov with Wallachia. A special place is represented by the commercial relations of Brașov and Câmpulung, at the end of the 15th century and especially in the 16th century. The latter was one of the oldest communities in Wallachia, for a short time the capital of the country. Câmpulung was also privileged in terms of geographical location, lying on the trade route that connected the Balkans to Transylvania. The trade route connected Câmpulung to Brașov directly and was at a relatively small distance from it.

Even if in the first documentary mention, that of the Hungarian king Ludovic I of June 23, 1358 regarding the trade that the Brașov merchants could do beyond the Carpathians, in Wallachia, Câmpulung is not mentioned, it will not be deprived of the subsequent privileges (*DRH*, D, 1977, 72, no. 39).

Thus, the ruler of Wallachia, Vladislav Vlaicu I (1364–1377), will grant to the people of Brașov numerous commercial benefits in Wallachia through a document issued in 1368 (Manolescu, 1965, 26). The document also refers to some older rights of the people of Brașov in Wallachia, without making any other clarifications. Also, no reference is made to the products marketed, but only to the amount of customs duty to be paid. The merchants who wanted to transit Wallachia with goods had to pay twice the "tricesima" (1/30 of the value of the goods), once at the entrance to the country, at Câmpulung, and once at the Danube ford when returning.

It was also foreseen that merchants who wanted to sell their products in Wallachia would be obliged to pay only once the customs duty in Câmpulung (Giurescu, 1976, 29). Basically, this is the first act that specifies very clearly the obligations of each party and the taxes that the merchants who traded in Wallachia had to pay. This privilege lays the foundations of trade relations between Brașov and Câmpulung, rules that will be maintained over time until the 16th century, with certain changes.

The privilege granted by Vladislav Vlaicu was strengthened by the documents from 1412 and 1413 of the voivode of Transylvania Ştibor de Stiboricz, respectively the ruler of Wallachia, Mircea cel Bătrân. These two documents specified the tariffs that had to be collected from merchants at the entrance to Wallachia with goods, as well as the customs places (Urkundenbuch, III, 1902, 545). Some products were exempt from customs duties such as those widely used: ordinary grey cloth, cloth, linen, iron, swords, knives, bows and others (Bogdan, 1902, 3–5, no. 1). In essence, the document issued by Mircea cel Bătrân confirms the values of the customs duties imposed by the voivode of Transylvania a year before. It is possible that the two acts mentioned above are the result of a negotiation between the two parties.

The deed of privilege, established by Mircea cel Bătrân, was confirmed

several times by his successors. Dan II was the first who, during his intermittent reign with Radu Praznaglava, reinforced his father's deed on November 21, 1421, October 23, 1422, November 10, 1424, and January 30, 1431 (Urkundenbuch, III, 1902, 9–10, no. V; 12–13, no. VIII; 15–17, no. XI; 20–22, no. XVI).

The manner in which the ruler Radu Praznaglava acts in the issue of trade is rather interesting. He will grant more privileges to Brașov merchants through several deeds issued in favour of the people of Brașov. One of the documents was issued on May 7, 1421 and can be considered a true act of alliance with Brașov and Țara Bârsei. Another act issued by the Wallachian ruler, regarding the free trade rights of the people of Brașov in Wallachia, is undated (Bogdan, 1902, 7–8, no. 4).

Probably the second act was issued between 1421–22 or 1424–1427 when he was the sole ruler of Wallachia (Giurescu, 1976, 113). He also inexplicably gave up the customs from Câmpulung, which he abolished, between the years 1425–1427 (*DRH*, D, 1977, 234, no. 145). The ruler of Wallachia, Radu Praznaglava, also confirms the commercial privileges of the people of Brașov by a deed of November 21, 1421. By another deed, he also confirms the commercial privileges enjoyed by the people of Brașov and the inhabitants of Țara Bârsei, between November 21, 1421 and September 1422 (*DRH*, D, 1977, 218–220, no. 134; 220, no. 135).

The people of Brașov and the inhabitants of Bârsa received the recognition of their commercial privileges, in Wallachia, from Ioan de Hunedoara and Nicolae de Ujak, voivodes of Transylvania, on March 2, 1443. The following year, on August 7, 1444, the ruler of Wallachia confirmed the privileges conferred by Mircea cel Bătrân, regarding the trade of the Brașov people in his country (*DRH*, D, 1977, 369, nr. 268; 383, nr. 275).

Starting from the middle of the 15^{th} century, we can witness a new direction within the commercial policy of the Wallachian rulers. It deals with the commercial protectionism promoted out of the desire to bring the merchants from Wallachia on equal footing with those from Transylvania. The one who inaugurates this new line is the Wallachian ruler Vlad Țepeş. At the beginning of his reign, he invited the people of Brașov, Sibiu and the other Transylvanian merchants to walk, sell and buy "...freely, without any worries and without any harm..." through Wallachia. The Wallachian merchants who benefited from the support of the voivode of Transylvania, Mihail Szilagyi, enjoyed the same treatment.

However, the situation changes radically, especially after the consolidation of the reign, when Vlad Țepeş proceeds to the application of the first protectionist measures. The damage to the economic interests of the people of Brașov,

who wanted to preserve their old privileges south of the Carpathians, finally led to the outbreak of a full-fledged conflict. During this time, the people of Sibiu and Brașov supported Vlad Călugărul and respectively Dan voivode as contenders for the throne as a way of putting pressure on Wallachia.

The Wallachian ruler's reply was not long in coming. At the beginning of 1459, Vlad Țepeş attacked Sibiu and Braşov and caused them numerous human and material damage. In terms of trade relations, Vlad Țepeş imposed on Transylvanian merchants the obligation to sell their goods only in "border fairs". These were in fact the only places where Transylvanian merchants could buy and sell products. The main effect of the action was to balance the trade balance, favouring obviously the Wallachian merchants who were beginning to have much greater control than before over trade in Wallachia (Gündisch, 1963, 686).

His successor to the throne of Wallachia, Radu cel Frumos (1462–1474), did not essentially change his policy of consolidating his own economic interests. Those "border fairs" were still preserved, for which the Wallachian ruler found as a justification the losses caused by the right of storage of the cities of Sibiu and Braşov (Nussbächer, 1968, 5). He was willing to give them up only if the Saxons of southern Transylvania gave up applying the storage rights and left trade free. As this proposal was unacceptable to them, the Wallachian ruler did not rush to revoke this system (Manolescu, 1965, 57).

In 1474, Laiotă Basarab (1474–1476, 1477–1479) is installed on the throne of Wallachia, with Transylvanian help. The Wallachian ruler grants the merchants of Brașov freedom of movement throughout the country (Bogdan, 1902, 75, no. LXXVII). He also asks for their help, including weapons, to deal with possible Ottoman invasions. But the attitude of the Wallachian ruler changes over time, as evidenced by the letter addressed to the people of Brașov, in which he admits that ... "I went to the Turks to the great emperor and I made peace and good..." (Bogdan, 1902, 78, nr. LXXX).

But the attitude of the people of Brașov towards the Wallachian ruler also changes, a fact noted in a letter reproaching them that "...I see enough injustice from you...". Instead, Laiotă Basarab maintains good relations "...with the people of Sibiu, who are good people, we live like good neighbours..." (Bogdan, 1902, 85, nr. LXXXVII).

The conflict with the people of Brașov was just beginning. Laiotă Basarab imperiously asks the people of Brașov not to graze their flocks of sheep or pigs on the territory of Wallachia "...as if we find any shepherds from among your people, ... I will cut them down and take all their cattle... ". He also forbids them to fish in the ponds and waters of his kingdom. As regards the trade of the Brașov people in Wallachia, the Wallachian ruler forbids them the freedom of

movement and forces them to sell their products only in Târgovişte, Târgşor and Câmpulung (Manolescu, 1957, 125). The application of the right of storage to the above-mentioned cities, by the Wallachian ruler, leads to a drastic decrease of the commercial volume of Brașov to the south of the Carpathians (Nägler, 1997, 153).

In fact, Laiotă Basarab does nothing but apply the same principles that guided the trade of Saxon cities in southern Transylvania. The right of storage of Sibiu and Brașov restricted to a great extent the Wallachian merchants who wanted to sell their products in Transylvania (Iorga, 1925, 94). Having control over the transit and trade of products in the southern part of Transylvania brought important benefits to the Saxons of Sibiu and Brașov, unlike the Wallachians who suffered from this protectionist policy (Bogdan, 1902, 79, nr. LXXXI; 80, no. LXXXII).

Vlad Țepeş's protectionist attitude was short-lived. During the third reign, in 1476, he returned to a conciliatory attitude and confirmed the old privileges of the Brașov merchants given by Mircea cel Bătrân. A document from this period clearly specifies the existence of a protectionist policy practised during the other two reigns "...but to be free and willing every man to do business and buy and sell, without scale...". (Bogdan, 1902, 64, no. LXVII; 66, no. LXIX) The attitude is explicable by the fact that he occupied the throne of Wallachia with Transylvanian help.

The new ruler, Basarab cel Tânăr Țepeluş (1478–1482), restores the functionality of the "border fairs". The Wallachian ruler encourages the people of Brașov to come with their goods to Wallachia and not to be afraid of the Turks. Probably, there was a certain fear of the Brașov merchants to trade in a period not exactly favourable for such a thing. In fact, the Wallachian ruler no longer gives the people of Brașov the security of business in the whole country. Their feelings came true because, in 1481, the Wallachian ruler participated, together with the Ottomans, in the battles against Ștefan cel Mare (Bogdan, 1902, 88, no. XCI; 89, no. XCII).

Vlad Călugărul was the one who renounced the protectionist policy and confirmed the old trade privileges of the Brașov people in Wallachia. The Wallachian ruler also promises to maintain the old customs duties without adding new ones (Bogdan, 1902, 116, no. CXVI). However, the friendly attitude towards the people of Brașov changes, over time, due to the frequent inconveniences caused to the ruler or his people by the Saxons.

The frequent confiscations of goods, but also the frauds produced in the fortress under Tâmpa against the Wallachian merchants, to which the numerous robberies on Transylvanian roads can be added, determined Vlad Călugărul to address letters of protest to the Magistrate from Brașov. As they did not

have the expected result, the Wallachian ruler gradually closes the mountain roads that connected the country with the Transylvanian city (Bogdan, 1902, 120, no. CXXII; 124, no. CXXV; 125, no. CXXVI; 127, no. CXXIX; 129, no. CXXXI; 129, no. CXXXII).

The trade policy that was disadvantageous to the Wallachian merchants was remarked, by Vlad Călugărul himself, in a letter addressed to the people of Brașov. Thus, the decision of the Wallachian ruler to impose restrictions on the people of Brașov who came south of the Carpathians for trade is explained.

The protection of the local traders was continued, by Radu cel Mare (1496–1508), in a much harsher form. The reaction of the Saxons from Brașov and Sibiu was to support a contender for the throne of Wallachia, to satisfy their economic demands. Support for Mihnea led to the closure of the roads between Transylvania and Wallachia "...so that we can guard against our enemy Mihnea..." (Bogdan, 1902, 130, no. CXXXIII). The good relations that the Wallachian ruler had with the Hungarian royalty allowed that, shortly after the letter addressed to the people of Brașov, trade routes be opened and the people of Brașov be granted freedom of business. The change of attitude is largely due to the removal of the pretender Mihnea from the borders of Wallachia, at the insistence of Radu cel Mare.

If the descendants of Radu cel Mare, Mihnea cel Rău (1508–1510) and Vlad cel Tânăr or Vlăduță (1510–1512), continued to grant freedom of trade to the people of Brașov, the same cannot be stated about Neagoe Basarab (1512–1521). The latter resumed the policy of protecting its own merchants, refusing, in 1517, to renew the old privileges of the people of Brașov regarding free trade south of the Carpathians. It was possible to trade only in Târgovişte, Târgşor and Câmpulung, "...but to sell wholesale to our people, and not to go through other fairs..." (Manolescu, 1965, 61, nota 3).

Limiting trade to the above-mentioned localities caused a lot of damage to Brașov traders, and not only to them. They replied by harassing the Wallachian traders, who were trading in Brașov, confiscating their goods, by exaggeratedly high customs duties or by the ban on buying products. Among the goods forbidden from buying there were iron and weapons, the products being considered very important and particularly dangerous, especially in a period of tension like this. All the injustices done to the Wallachians are very clear from the numerous letters of the ruler Neagoe Basarab addressed to the Council of Brașov (Bogdan, 1902, 153, no. CLIV; 156, no. CLVII; 157, no. CLVIII).

The political situation became unstable during the reign of Radu de la Afumați (1521–1529), especially after the Mohács moment. The frequent Turkish incursions in the Romanian countries, but also the fights for the throne of the Hungarian crown between the two camps loyal to Ferdinand or

Ioan Zapolya, turned the whole economic activity of the Transylvanian cities upside down. Neither the economy of Wallachia nor of Moldavia escaped the effects of the Mohács phenomenon. Moreover, after these events, the economies of the two extra-Carpathian Romanian countries will be entirely subordinated to Ottoman interests.

During the 15th–16th centuries, commercial disputes began to become more frequent between traders from Brașov and those from extra-Carpathian Romanian countries. Not infrequently, letters from the Wallachian ruler were sent to the councils of the two southern Transylvanian cities, in order to solve some problems that appeared in the commercial transactions between the merchants. They would often "forget to pay" for the goods purchased, which led to numerous confiscations of goods by those affected. The reprisals made against some merchants who had the only sin of being at the wrong place and at the wrong time led to numerous protests by the rulers of Wallachia or the magistrate of Brașov to resolve the situation, so that everyone should be satisfied. Most of the protest letters were addressed to the Magistrate of Brașov.

Such a case is recorded between 1510 and 1511, when the Wallachian ruler, Vlad IV cel Tânăr, intervened with the leadership of Brașov to regulate the situation of his merchants, Sava from Târgoviște and Neacşu from Câmpulung, who had to receive money from a Brașov merchant. The trial was re-judged "... before the ruler and before the seven chairs, and everywhere ..."and was won by the Wallachian merchants, but they did not receive the due (Bogdan, 1902, 142)

For the first half of the 16th century, we have somewhat richer and more varied information regarding the trade between Braşov and Câmpulung. The information comes from the customs registers of the city of Brașov, which have been largely preserved. These documents record the products or animals brought to the city (the "*adducta*" chapter) and the customs that is collected from merchants for the products bought from the city and that took the road to Câmpulung (the "*educta*" chapter). The arrivals with goods were much more detailed than the exits, the latter referring only to the total amount that had to be collected as customs by the Brașov authorities.

From the customs registers we can see that food products such as rice, honey, wine and spices are brought to Brașov. Figs, raisins or almonds also fell into this category. An important category was the fish that would not miss from the Brașov market. There is no shortage of animals such as cattle, horses and pigs, all of which were brought mainly by merchants from Câmpulung.

Rice was brought to Brașov from the Ottoman Empire. It was the Wallachian merchants who brought the largest quantities of this product to the Saxon cities of South Transylvania. Important quantities of rice were brought to Brașov

by merchants from Câmpulung (D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 382*, 1515, 20; *Register no. 385*, 1530, 58; *Register no. 390*, 1543, 26, p. 27, 28; *Register no. 391*, 1544, page 4; *Register no. 393*, 1544, 15, 18, 22, 23, 25, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35; 41, 45, 50; *Register no. 395*, 1545, 11, 17, 20–22, 24, 30, 33, 35–37; *Register no. 396*, 1545–1548, (1545) 12–13, 16–17, 20, 24–25, 30, 35, (1546) 51–58; 60; 63, 64, 67, 71, (1547) 79, 81, 85–86, 88–91, 96–99, 103–104, 108, 110–113, 115, (1548) 118–119, 121, 126–128, 130–131, 134, 138, 140; *Register no. 405*, 1549–1552, (1549) 14–16, 18–20, 21, 28, 32, (1550) page 35; page 43; page 54).

Spices were mentioned in documents from Transylvania starting with the 14th century. The commercial privileges granted to the Saxons by the Hungarian royalty or by the Wallachian rulers referred to these products explicitly. Information on the import of spices appears in the customs registers of Brașov, from which pepper and saffron almost never missed. The spices were brought to Brașov, mainly by the Wallachian merchants, among whom those from Câmpulung stand out.

Pepper was very often used in cooking. An impressive amount of pepper was brought to Brașov during the years 1500–1549. A large part of it was brought by the merchants from Câmplung (*Quellen*, I, 38–40, 42–44, 46–47, 49–58, 60–75, D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 382*, 1515, 6. 8–9, 11, 16, 20; *Register no. 383*, 1529, 16, 20, 22, 25, 27; *Register no. 385*, 1530, 20, 22–23, 29, 33, 36, 41, 45, 54, 56, 58, 63; *Register no. 390*, 1543, 3, 5–18, 20, 22–24, 26–37; *Register no. 391*, 1544, 3; 11–12, 14; *Register no. 393*, 1544, 3–7, 10–11, 13–23, 32, 37, 41, 46, 49–50; *Register no. 395*, 1545, 3, 5–7, 10–13, 15–17, 19, 21–24, 27–29, 31–33, 35; 37–42; *Register no. 396*, 1545–1548, (1545) 3–7, 9–10, 13–15, 17–18, 20, 23, 25–26, 28–31, 33, 36; (1546) 42–44, 58, 65, 68, 72, 75; (1547) 77–81, 90–91, 94–96, 99–100, 102–104, 110–114, 116, (1548) 121, 125–129, 131, 133, 135, 139, 141, 148; *Register no. 399*, 1546–1549, (1546) 5, 10, 14, 17–18, (1547) 31–32, 35, (1548) 43, 48, 51, 53, (1549) 57, 63, 67; *Register no. 405*, 1549–1552, (1549) 4–5, 10–12, 15–16, 18, 21, 25).

The largest quantity of pepper was brought in 1529 and the lowest in 1515. The price of a kilogram of pepper varied, during the first half of the 16th century, between 26 asprons, in 1529 and 36 asprons, during the years 1542–1549.

Another product often found in customs records was saffron. Used mainly in food preparation, but also in obtaining various medicines, saffron was brought in large quantities to Transylvania. It was one of the most prized spices due to its yellow appearance and the interesting taste it gave to food. Saffron was considered a luxury product in the Middle Ages.

The difficulty of its production, but also the great distance from which it was brought, determined a high selling price. In Brașov, the price of a kilogram of saffron varied between 3 and 5 florins. The largest quantity of saffron

entered Brașov in 1530, and the lowest in 1503 (*Quellen*, I, 59; 77; D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 385*, 1530, 58; *Register no. 390*, 1543, 9, 13, 16; 20–22, 26; *Register no. 393*, 1544, 49; *Register no. 395*, 1545, 3, 9, 14, 21; *Register no. 396*, 1545–1548, (1545) 34; (1547) 92, 113; (1548) 117, 120, 130; *Register no. 405*, 1549–1552, (1549) 4, (1550) 35).

Another product recorded in the customs registers was ginger. Often used in food preparation, ginger was brought to Brașov in relatively small quantities. The price of a kilogram of ginger varies between 25 and 32 asprons (*Quellen*, I, 40–41; 46–47; 50; 52–57; 60–61; 63–64; 66–71; 73–75; D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 393*, 1544, 6, 30–31, 46; *Register no. 395*, 1545, 6; *Register no. 396*, 1545–1548, (1545) 4, 23, 25, (1546) 44, 49, 61, (1547) 100).

Another spice brought to Brașov was nutmeg. Reddish-yellow in colour, nutmeg was one of the most refined spices. However, in Transylvania, it was used quite rarely. The customs registers of Brașov record references to the entry into the city of small quantities of nutmeg (D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 390*, 1543, p. 8, p. 14; *Register no. 393*, 1544, p. 7, p. 30, p. 36, pp. 42–43; *Register no. 395*, 1545, p 6, p. 16, 27, 38). The price of a kilogram of nutmeg varies between 20 and 35 asprons.

On the Brașov market, a special place was occupied by animal trade. Imported from Wallachia, the cattle brought important sums of money to the merchants who sold them.

Most cattle were brought for slaughter, as evidenced by the large number of imported oxen. The number of imported cows was about a third of the total cattle brought to Brașov. The value of this type of trade was very high, the large number of cattle being recorded in the customs registers of Brașov (*Quellen*, I, 12–13; 15–20; 22–29; 33–36; D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 389,* 1543, 177, 243).

The price of an ox was around 2 florins. A cow rarely reached 2 florins, the most common price being 1 florin and 40 asprons. The most numerous and active traders who brought cattle to Brașov were those from Câmpulung. They were recorded with numerous entrances to the city, over relatively short periods of time.

Although they were less preferred than cattle, pigs were significantly imported by Brașov residents (*Quellen*, I, 31–33; D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 404,* 1549, 60; *Register no. 406,* 1550, 33).

A customs duty of about 2 asprons was paid for each pig. The market value of pigs ranged from 30 to 45 asprons (*Quellen*, I, p. 83; 91–92; 464).

Looking at the general trade in Brașov with animals, we can say that it had relatively small oscillations during the first half of the 16th century. The number of cattle was much higher than that of pigs or horses. The value of the vigesima received by the people of Brașov was higher for cattle than for pigs and horses together.

Fish was one of the most sought-after products on the Brașov market. The pages of the customs registers are full of information regarding the fish brought to Brașov by the Wallachian merchants. Some of the most important merchants who brought fish to Brașov came from Câmpulung (*Quellen*, I, 1–36; D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 383,* 1529, 2, 5–7, 9, 22; 24; 31; *Register no. 385,* 1530, 33–34, 38, 43, 48, 51, 56; *Register no. 389,* 1543, 56; 69–70, 76, 89, 104–105, 109, 113, 117, 121, 144, 157, 190, 193; 203, 207, 211, 226, 248–249, 253, 263, 269, 278–279, 286, 295; *Register no. 392,* 1544, 8, 19, 28, 37–39, 55–56, 60–61, 72–73, 86–87, 112, 118, 131–132, 160, 163–164, 173, 175, 180, 189, 194, 201, 212; *Register no. 394,* 1545, 22, 33, 44, 60, 73, 81–82, 91, 97, 103–105, 111, 115–116, 119, 122, 126, 148, 154–155, 176, 179, 197–198, 204–205; 222, 228–229, 246, 254, 261–262, 270, 279–280, 289–290, 300–303, 310–311, 322–324 326; *Register no. 397,* 1546, 15, 24–28, 37, 40, 117–121, 126–127, 133–134, 139, 141–143, 149–151, 158–161, 163, 175, 181, 187–188, 195, 201, 210, 220, 233, 259, 271, 280, 287, 323, 333, 343, 352–353, 361, 373, 391; *Register no. 404,* 1549, 12, 20–21, 29–31, 40, 48–52; pages 50–51, 60–61, 63; *Register no. 406,* 1550, 19, 30–31, 40–41, 49, 62–63, 73–75, 85, 95–96, 100, 105–106, 112, 117–119, 124–125, 129–130, 134–135, 139, 144, 149, 177, 190, 197, 242, 246; 252–253, 257, 274–275, 277, 284, 288, 317, 325).

Customs for fish was generally paid in cash. But there are quite a few cases in which customs were paid in kind (with fish).

The fish sold in Brașov came from the Danube ponds and was brought either in brine or dried and smoked. Fresh fish was not sold in Brașov, precisely because of its perishability. The merchants brought for sale, in the first half of the 16th century, several types of fish, including carp, pike, catfish, cod, bream or plaice. Carp, mullet or pike roe were also marketed. These were brought in small quantities.

The fish was brought *in bulk* to Brașov, later it was sold wholesale. From the notes of the customs accounting registers of Brașov, it can be seen that carp was brought in an appreciable quantity. Catfish was also brought in large quantities during the first half of the 16th century. At the opposite pole were pike and cod, which were not sold in large quantities.

Usually, the merchants did not bring only one type of fish to Brașov. But very rarely did merchants bring more than three kinds of fish. The most common were combinations of carp or catfish with pike.

Information on the trade in animal skins was recorded in the customs registers of Brașov. These were brought and sold on the Brașov market by Wallachian merchants. Beef skins were sought after by craftsmen from Brașov (*Quellen*, I, p. 1; 3–4; 6–9; 11–14; 17–18; 20–21; 24–35; D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 383,* 1529, 8, 16; *Register no. 389,* 1543, 89, 115, 121, 179, 243; *Register*

no. 392, 1544, 67, 206; *Register no. 394,* 1545, 105, 205, 244; *Register no. 397,* 1546, 220, 287–288, 372; *Register no. 406,* 1550, 220).

In the customs registers of Brașov, sheepskins are recorded in two ways: as a piece or as a load. The document did not record the number of skins in a load, but this can be determined. In 1503, 850 pieces of sheepskin were recorded for which a sum of 1 florin and 18 asprons was paid as customs. That means the market value of a sheepskin was 1.4 asprons. 51 florins and 36 asprons were paid for 642 loads of sheepskin. Consequently, a burden of sheepskin was charged with 4 asprons as customs. As a sheepskin was customs cleared with 0.08 asprons, it means that a load contained about 50 pieces of skin. A load, in Brașov, weighed about 108 kg, we can say that a sheepskin weighed about 2.1 kg.

The situation also applies to other years in which there is information recorded on trade in sheepskins. Thus, we can state that a load contained about 50 pieces of sheepskin. Also, if the customs for a sheepskin was 0.08 asprons, it was probably sold on the market for at least 1.6 asprons.

Things are different in what cowhides are concerned. They were only sold in pieces, each one being customs cleared with 0.5 asprons. In the 1529 register there is a record of bringing a number of 26 pieces of red leather in Brașov (D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 383,* 1529, page 24). Unfortunately, the amount of customs duty for this is not specified, nor is the merchant who brought it to the city.

The information extracted from the customs records lets us know that the customs for a cowhide, in the first half of the 16th century, was 10 asprons. There is no change in the amount of this customs duty over time.

Appreciable quantities of wool were also brought to Brașov by merchants. A large part of it was brought by merchants from Câmpulung (*Quellen*, I, 29; 34; D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 392,* 1544, 200–201; *Register no. 394,* 1545, 246, 290; *Register no. 406,* 1550, 256–257).

For a wool load, in 1503, a customs duty of 4 asprons was collected. The customs duty was halved in 1542–1550. The value of a wool load was 1 florin and 30 asprons, in 1503 of 40 asprons, during the years 1542–1550 (Manolescu, 1965, 123).

The leather objects of the Saxon guild craftsmen were much appreciated and sought after in the Romanian countries. But they were competing with the products made in the Romanian countries. Numerous leather products are recorded in the customs accounts of Brașov, such as: leather shoes, horse harnesses and belts.

Many more pairs of footwear were imported to Brașov in the first half of the 16th century. Thus, in the customs registers of the city were registered over

6000 pairs of shoes brought by the Wallachian merchants. A large part of them was brought by the merchants from Câmpulung (D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 395,* 1545, 3, 8–9, 28–29, 36, *Register no. 396,* 1545–1548, (1545) 3, 22, 30, (1546) 44, (1548) 130, 136; *Register no. 405*, 1549–1552, (1549) 4, 37).

In Brașov, the price of a pair of shoes varied between 27 and 35 asprons.

Leather belts were produced, in particular, by guild craftsmen from Brașov. But these products were also imported from Romanian countries. The customs registers of the city of Brașov recorded information regarding the bringing of important quantities of belts from Wallachia.

The customs duty for a belt was, at the beginning of the 16th century, 3 asprons in Brașov. The value of a belt varies between 6 and 11 asprons (*Quellen*, I, pp. 6; 9–10; 16; 21–22; 25–27; D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 393,* 1544, 6, 9, 13–14, 27, 30, 35, 43, 46–47, 49; *Register no. 395,* 1545, 6, 8–9, 16, 18–20, 28, 36, 38; *Register no. 396,* 1545–1548, (1545) 3–4, 13–14, 22–23, 25, 30, 36, (1546) 44, 49, 60, (1547) 87, 100, 113, 115 (1548) 120, 126–128, 130, 132, 136, 139; *Register no. 405*, 1549–1552, (1549) 6, 10, 15, 30–31, 52).

Horse harnesses were highly sought after in the Middle Ages. They were used both in time of peace and in time of war. Although there were some differences between a harness for war horses and that used daily by merchants, they were not specified in the customs records. Most likely, the horse harnesses sold were the ones used daily and not the military ones that were subject to the decisions of the Magistrate of Brașov (D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 393*, 1544, 49; *Register no. 395*, 1545, 35–36; *Register no. 396*, 1545–1548, (1545) 22, (1546) 49, (1548) 136).

Information on the transit of broadcloth was recorded in the customs registers of Brașov and Sibiu. Among the fabrics imported from the Orient, there are several types, among which we mention damask (domoslia), cotton (bogasia), cloth (stramatura) and mohair. These were produced either in the Ottoman Empire or in the countries of the Far East. However, all these products passed through the Ottoman Gate and were therefore recorded in the customs registers of Saxon cities as *res turcales*.

For example, in Brașov, the amount of damask was higher than the one brought to Sibiu (*Quellen*, I, 38; 40–41; 44; 46; 54–55; 57–58; 64; 66–68; D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 393,* 1544, 6, 9, 14, 27, 30, 36, 43, 46–47; *Register no. 395*, 1545, 5–6, 16, 19–20, 27–29, 38; *Register no. 396*, 1545–1548, (1545) 4, 13–14, 22, 34, p. 36, (1546) 43, 49, 60–61, (1547) 83, 87, 100, 113, 115 (1548) 120, 126–128, 136, 139; *Register no. 405*, 1549–1552, (1549) 4–5, 10–11, 15, 30–31, (1550) 33–34, 45, 49, 58).

The cotton broadcloth (bogasia) was produced in Anatolia and was imported in appreciable quantities by the Saxon cities in southern Transylvania.

This type of cloth was in great demand in the west of the continent, precisely because of its superior quality and its relatively low price.

In Brașov, the largest quantity of broadcloth entered in 1542, i.e. over 21,000 pieces (*Quellen*, I, p. 27; p. 36; pp. 38–44; pp. 46–47; pp. 51–57; pp. 59–75; D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 393*, 1544, 6, 9, 13–14, 27–28, 30, 36, 43, 46–47; *Register no. 395*, 1545, 5–6, 16, 19–20, 26–29, 35, 38; *Register no. 396*, 1545–1548, (1545) 4, 13–14, 22–23, 25, 30, 34, 36, (1546) 43–44, 49, 60–61, (1547) 96, 100, 104, 113, 115 (1548) 120, 126–128, 136, 139; *Register no. 405*, 1549–1552, (1549) 4–5, 7, 10–11, 15–16, 30–31, (1550) 33, 39–41, 44–45, 49, 52, 57–58).

Stofa (stramatura, cloth) also fell into the category of fabrics. It was made from a mixture of wool of different colours. It came from the East without being able to identify, at least for now, the exact place of its production. The cloth was less sought after than the broadcloth on the Transylvanian market

In Brașov, cloth was brought in smaller quantities than in Sibiu (D.J.B.A.N., *Register no. 390*, 1543, 26; *Register no. 393*, 1544, 17, 35, 47, 49; *Register no. 395*, 1545, 3, 8–9, 35; *Register no. 396*, 1545–1548, (1545) 4, 13–14, 22–23, 25, 30, (1546) 49, (1547) 113; *Register no. 405*, 1549–1552, (1549) 4, p. 15, 30, (155035, 57–59).

These are just some of the aspects of the complex commercial deed that took place between the Romanian countries at the end of the 15th century and in the first half of the 16th century. The role of the Câmpulung merchants who carried out rich trade activities in the city of Brașov was significant. They brought many products for sale, but they also carried out important transports of handicraft products bought from the Brașov craftsmen. Sometimes, the Câmpulung merchants are marked in the customs registers with more exits with goods from Brașov than entries over relatively short periods of time. This fact demonstrates that, sometimes, the increased needs for Wallachian handicrafts determined the Câmpulung merchants to adapt to the situation.

Bibliographical references

*** *Documente privind istoria orașului Brașov*, vol. XI. Documente de breaslă (1420–1580), (Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt. XI. Zunfturkunden, 1420–1580), ediție îngrijită de Gernot NUSSBÄCHER și Elisabeta MARIN, Ed. Aldus, 1999.

BOGDAN Ioan, 1902: *Documente și regeste privitoare la relațiile Țării Românești cu Brașovul și Ungaria în secolele al XV-lea – al XVI-lea*, București, Atelierul grafic I.V. Socecu.

Direcția Județeană Brașov a Arhivelor Naționale, Fondul Socoteli alodiale, Seria: Socoteli

de vamă, *Registrul nr. 382,* 1515, filele 1–63; *Registrul nr. 383,* 1529, filele 1–41; *Registrul nr. 385,* 1530, filele 1–74; *Registrul nr. 387,* 1542, filele 1–266; *Registrul nr. 389,* 1543, filele 1–305; *Registrul nr. 390,* 1543, filele 1–37; *Registrul nr. 392,* 1544, filele 1–320; *Registrul nr. 393,* 1544, filele 1–50; *Registrul nr. 394,* 1545, filele 1–333; *Registrul nr. 395,* 1545, filele 1–43; *Registrul nr. 396,* 1545–1548, filele 1–150; *Registrul nr. 397,* 1546, filele 13–403; *Registrul nr. 398,* 1546–1549, (1546) filele 1–11; (1547) filele 12–200; (1548) filele 208–406; (1549) filele 407–624; *Registrul nr. 401,* 1547, filele 1–360; *Registrul nr. 404,* 1549, filele 1–64; *Registrul nr. 405,* 1549, filele 1–140; *Registrul nr. 406,* 1550, filele 1–343.

DRAGOMIR Silviu, *Documente nouă privitoare la relațiile Țării Românești cu Sibiul în secolii XV și XVI*, București, Ed. Cartea Românească, 1922.

DRH.D., 1977: *Documenta Romaniae Historica. D. Relațiile între Țările Române*, I, București.

GÜNDISCH Gustav, 1963: *Cu privire la relațiile lui Vlad Țepeș cu Transilvania în anii 1456–1458,* în *Studii*, XVI, 3, pp. 681–696.

IORGA Nicolae, *Socotelile Brașovului,* în *Anuarul Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice,* Bucuresti, seria II, tomul XXI, 1898–1899, pp. 108–270;

Nicolae IORGA, 1925: *Istoria comerțului românesc, epoca veche,* I, Tipografia „Tiparul Românesc", București.

Quellen, 1886: *Quellen zur Geschihte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen,* vol. I: *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt, 1503–1526,* Kronstadt-Brassó.

MANOLESCU Radu, 1957: *Schimbul de mărfuri dintre Țara Românească și Brașov în prima jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea,* în *Studii și Materiale de Muzeografie și Istorie Militară*, București, II.

MANOLESCU Radu, 1965: *Comerțul Țării Românești și Moldovei cu Brașovul secolele XVI – XVI*, București, Ed. Științifică.

METEȘ Ștefan, 1920: *Relațiile comerciale ale Țerii Românești cu Ardealul până în secolul al XVIII-lea,* Sighișoara, Tipografia lui W. Krafft.

NÄGLER Thomas, 1997: *Românii și sașii până la 1848,* Sibiu, Ed. Thausib.

NUSSBÄCHER Gernot, 1968: *Kronstadt und Kaschau,* în *Karpathenrundschau,* nr. 40, an I, p. 5.

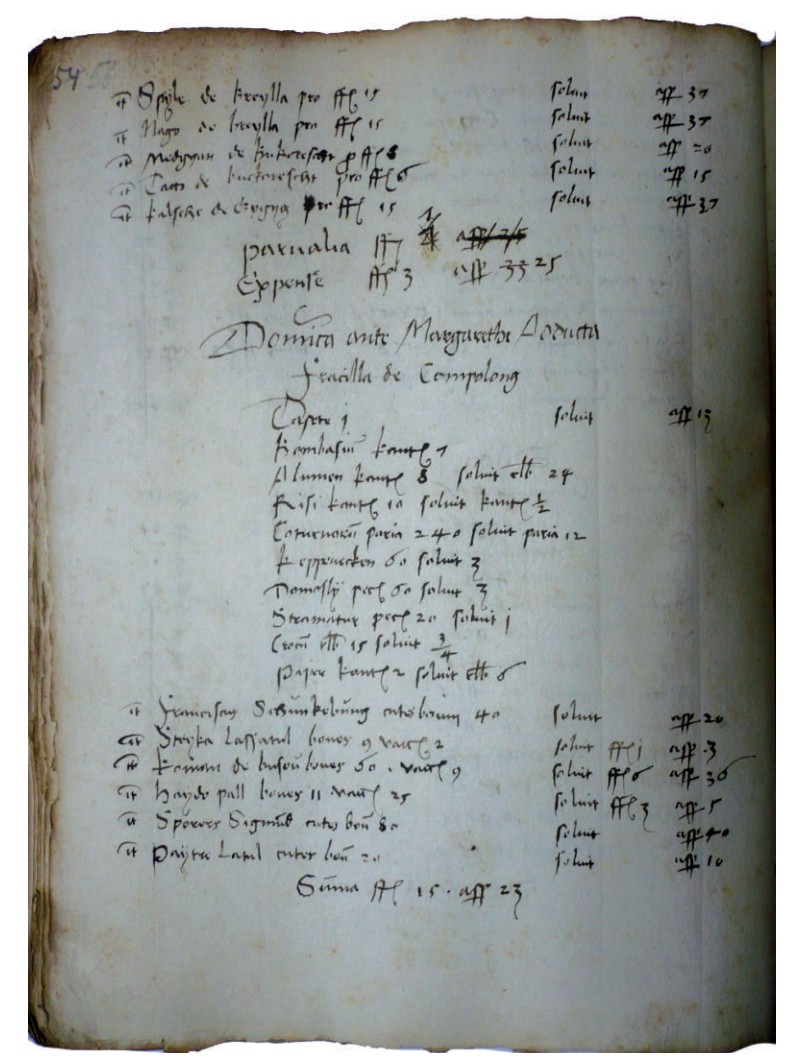
PANAITESCU Petre P., 1938: *Documente slavo-române din Sibiu (1470–1653),* București, Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului. Imprimeria Națională.

TOCILESCU Grigore, 1931: *534 documente istorice slavo-române din Țara Românească și Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul (1346–1603). Din arhivele orașelor Brașov și Bistrița*, București, Ed. Librăria „Cartea Românească".

Urkundenbuch, III, 1902: *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenburgen,* III, (1391–1415), *Herausgegeben von Franz ZIMMERMANN, Carol WERNER, Georg MULLER,* Hermannstadt, Druck von W. Karfft.

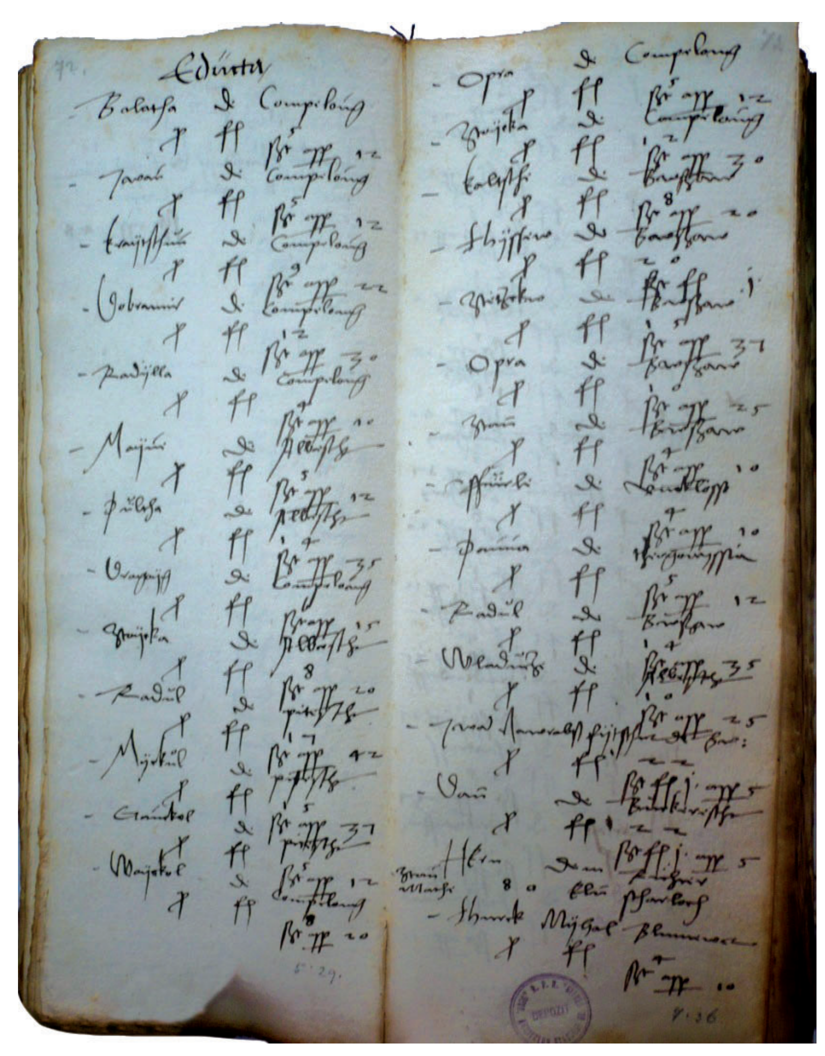
Annexes

Annex 1. Page 58 of the 1530 Brașov Customs Register (D.J.B.A.N.).
Annex 2. Page 60 of the 1530 Brașov Customs Register (D.J.B.A.N.).
Annex 3. Pages 72–73 of the 1530 Brașov Customs Register (D.J.B.A.N.).
Annex 4. Pages 104–105 of the 1545 Brașov Customs Register (D.J.B.A.N.).
Annex 5. Pages 204–205 of the 1545 Brașov Customs Register (D.J.B.A.N.).
Annex 6. Pages 22–23 of the 1545–1548 Brașov Customs Register (D.J.B.A.N.).

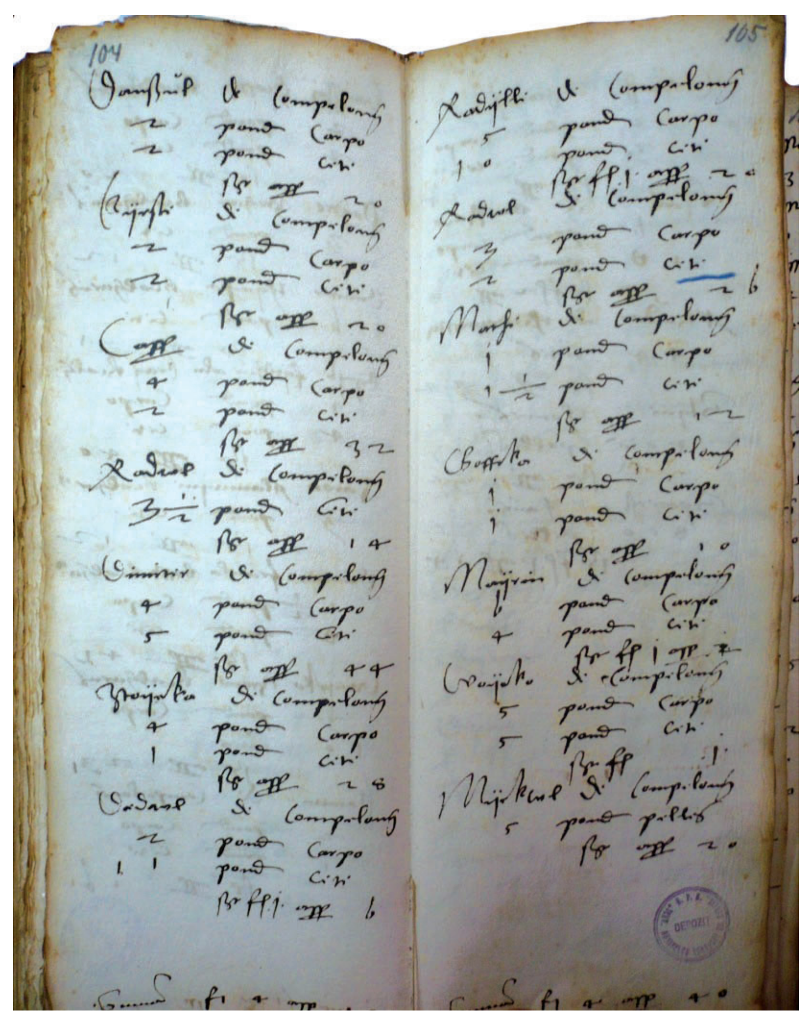


Annex 1. Page 58 of the 1530 Brașov Customs Register (D.J.B.A.N.).

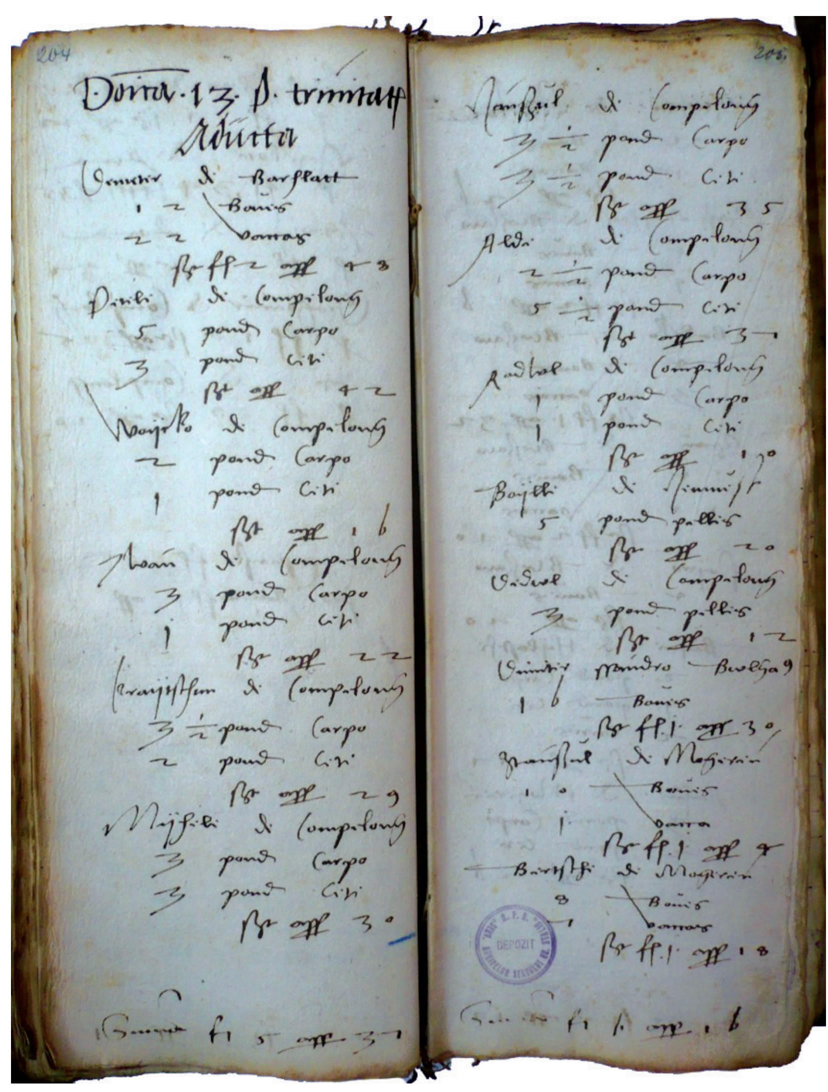
Annex 2. Page 60 of the 1530 Brașov Customs Register (D.J.B.A.N.).



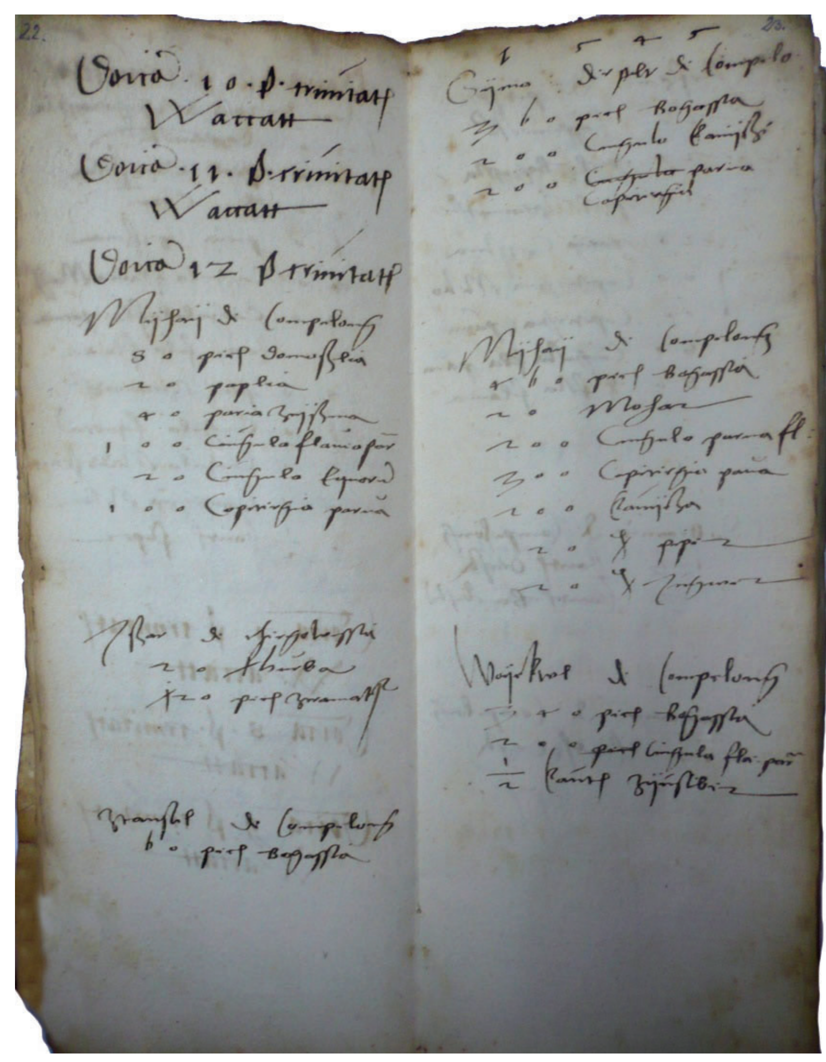
Annex 3. Pages 72–73 of the 1530 Brașov Customs Register (D.J.B.A.N.).



Annex 4. Pages 104–105 of the 1545 Brașov Customs Register (D.J.B.A.N.).



Annex 5. Pages 204–205 of the 1545 Brașov Customs Register (D.J.B.A.N.).



Annex 6. Pages 22–23 of the 1545–1548 Brașov Customs Register (D.J.B.A.N.).

Sibiu and Brașov in Relation to Wallachia: Trade, Politics and Conflict in the 15th–16th Centuries

Ioan Marian Țiplic
(Centre for Research on Heritage and Socio-Cultural History, "Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu)

The research of the Transylvanian guilds, as part of the evolution of the medieval society, faces at least two difficulties: the complexity of the phenomenon and the fragility of the documentation on which the reconstruction of its history rests. Interest in the production of weapons and, in particular, in pieces with a special historical charge manifested itself very early on. Interest in weapons reached its peak in the latter part of the 19^{th} century due, in large part, to Romantic historiography, which revitalized and revived the virtues of medieval knights. This is how a real fashion for each public person to organise a private collection of weapons was born. This situation also led to the appearance of works that dealt with the history of some collectibles or entire collections. Although the involvement of those who made weapons manifested itself in the most varied fields – economic, political, social and military –, the emergence and development of many of the Transylvanian guilds remain insufficiently researched and clarified by modern historiography, be it Romanian, German or Hungarian.

Economic history was and is one of the important segments of the mosaic that constitutes the Middle Ages and, as Jacques Le Goff points out, crafts, as a whole, were a factor of progress in medieval society, generating important urban centres. Another contribution of the development of craftsmen's associations is that they revealed the need for accurate measurement of time, by establishing a program based on hourly work, and not on a daily basis. As a result, time is no longer measured in terms of sunrise and sunset. Jacques Le Goff believes that crafts are responsible for the emergence of the hour, which, at the dawn of the pre-industrial era, will replace the day as a unit of

measurement of working time (Le Goff, 1986, 156). Guilds that used metal as a raw material accounted for less than 10% of the total number of guilds in medieval cities, they are organised mainly according to the type of metal used: iron, steel, non-ferrous metals (copper, bronze) and precious metals (gold, silver). In the field of so-called *metal* trades, as Philip Braunstein calls them (Braunstein, 1994, 23), if we leave aside those based on precious metals as raw materials, we do not have many synthesis studies for the central and south-eastern European space. A possible explanation for this situation lies in the fact that the Eastern European space has known a relatively modest general development – implicitly in the field of metalworking technology – compared to the Western European space, not offering the researcher spectacular and facile things. If we consider that, for Western Europe, we have documents on processing techniques, the location of forges, the internal life of trade associations and we are even dealing, since the 15th century, with the emergence of an "industry" (Braunstein, 1994, 25) which removes the barriers imposed by the guilds, we realise that the mission of those who dwell on certain segments of the large field of trades in Eastern Europe, resting on metal as a raw material, is an ingrate one because of the lack of such a wealth of informational material. And all this is happening despite the fact that the metalworkers, especially the silverware metalworker, but also the blacksmith and, later, the weapon maker, enjoyed a special prestige in the communities, as the magical mentality was positively satisfied – due to the strange atmosphere of the workshop, the way of working and the result of his work, the blacksmith was attributed supernatural powers and demonic complicities (Drîmba, 1987, 501). About these craftsmen, Jacques Le Goff says: "There were undoubtedly a few artisans – rather artists – who enjoyed a special prestige [...] the weapon maker in particular" (Le Goff, 1986, 155).

The syntheses dedicated to the history of the Romanian trade naturally paid more attention to the trade of Wallachia and Moldavia with Transylvania, in general, and with Braşov, in particular. However, using almost only narrative and documentary sources, their authors presented this business especially in terms of its overall evolution.

The increased attraction for trade lies in the profound political changes that the Mongol invasion of 1241–1242 produced in south-eastern Europe, namely the weakening of the hitherto so expansive Arpadian reaction and the disappearance of the dominant Cumanian force at the outer frontier of the Carpathian arc, both consequences opening a new horizon of trade connections made on the Pontic-Balkan-Carpathian route to central and north-eastern Europe.

At the same time, there appeared ways to stabilise the medieval relations in

this space. Now appear, successively, the voivodeships of Moldavia and Wallachia, creating for the Saxon cities of Transylvania, especially for Sibiu, Brașov, Bistrița, located near the passers-by, the necessary complementary economic space, which left its mark on their rapid rise in the last part of the 14th century, as well as in the 15th century.

The documentary attestation of the commercial relations with the neighbouring regions or even with more distant regions is made in the famous *Diploma* of Andrew II from 1224, which certifies the rights of Saxon merchants to sell and buy goods from anywhere in the Hungarian kingdom. When it comes to the chapter relating to the documentary attestation of the first existing guild in Sibiu, we can add the document from February 24, 1367, which refers to a transaction concluded between the tanners' guild and the Raugravine Peter from Ațel (Vlaicu, 2003, 50–51). On this occasion, two witnesses are mentioned, *Georg the cook* and *Simon the goldsmith*, together with the representatives of the administrative authority.

Trade was encouraged and supported on the one hand by documents issued by the kings of Hungary, the voivodes and vice-voivodes of Transylvania. On the other hand, the trade route that crossed Transylvania, coming from the Black Sea, offered mainly to the craftsmen from Brașov and Sibiu an important market for their products.

In the trade that the Transylvanian guilds practised with the voivodeships outside the Carpathian arch, in the field of arms trade, as in other fields, Brașov began to impose itself early on due to its geographical position, starting with the middle of the 14th century. The economic development of Brașov and the economic progress made by Wallachia, the liquidation of the Tatar rule and the weakening of the Genoese commercial domination on the Lower Danube, as well as the consolidation of the Romanian state south of the Carpathians created favourable conditions for the development of Wallachia's trade relations with Brașov. The same geographical-historical conditions competed in the imposition of Brașov guilds as the main producers of finished items sold on the Moldavian market, the two voivodeships becoming the main markets for Brașov products.

Significant for the establishment of trade relations between Hungary and Wallachia was the acceptance by Ioan de Hunedoara, on November 15, 1455, of the principle of free movement of merchants (*DRH*, D, I, 1977, 447–448, no 328). The measure was the first legal confirmation of the right granted to merchants from Wallachia to sell their goods beyond Brașov and Țara Bârsei (Pall, 1966, 80–82). With this measure, in a significantly modified international political context, the commercial policy of Wallachia entered a new phase.

From now on, the demand for effective reciprocity in the relations with

Brașov, whose main manifestation was the suppression of the right of storage of this city, became a lasting trend of the Wallachian rulers' policy. The refusal of Brașov to accept in fact the application of reciprocity provoked, by reaction, measures to restrict the trade of Brașov in Wallachia. Several terminus commercial points were created for the people of Brașov, which were equivalent to the establishment of the right of storage in favour of Wallachia (Manolescu, 1995, 37).

The direction set by Vladislav II, in relations with Brașov, through Ioan de Hunedoara, remained the general feature of the commercial policy of Wallachia for about a century. The application of this policy was oscillating, often interrupted, depending on the fluctuations of the external situation of Wallachia. The first action that changed the political balance of Wallachia, established in 1451, came from Ioan de Hunedoara himself in 1456, when, on the eve of a new great confrontation with the Ottoman sultan, he decided to bring the country back under his control, imposing Vlad Ţepeş as ruler. The return of Wallachia to the exclusive orbit of the Hungarian kingdom also meant the return to the commercial status imposed by it in favour of Brașov.

Installed on the throne of Wallachia, in 1456, Vlad Ţepeş, son of Vlad Dracul, proclaimed his allegiance to King Ladislaus of Hungary and concluded an agreement with Brașov by virtue of which the people of Brașov were assured free movement through the country (Stoicescu, 1976, 74–75). Subsequently, the change of Vlad Ţepeş's political attitude towards Hungarian royalty would lead to a conflict with the Saxon cities of Sibiu and Brașov, which would have important commercial consequences. Vlad Ţepeş will apply a protectionist policy towards his own merchants, simultaneously with the limitation of the privileges of the Transylvanian Saxons. The direction inaugurated by him will be continued by his brother, Radu cel Frumos, who took over the reign of Wallachia immediately after the devastating campaign of Sultan Mehmet II in the summer of 1462 (Gündisch, 1963, 685).

Although the reign of Radu cel Frumos began under the auspices of the agreement with Brașov, the old privileges of the city being reconfirmed, later on the situation would change radically. Starting with 1468 and throughout the following years, Wallachia and Brașov asserted and, respectively, consolidated their protectionist attitudes. A deed issued on September 28, 146 forced the Wallachian merchants to sell their goods in Brașov and forbade them to transport them farther inside Transylvania (Ukb, VI, 355–356). Radu cel Frumos responded with similar measures, by establishing the mandatory storage for the Brașov merchants in Wallachia. The real objective of this measure was to remove the obstacle represented by the *right of storage* of Brașov. The

establishment of the *scales* inside Wallachia was only a measure of retaliation whose real goal was the suppression of the *scale* from Brașov.

The situation created by the measures imposed by both sides of the Carpathians during the reign of Radu cel Frumos will foreshadow the historical evolution of the commercial relations between Wallachia and the commercial centres from the south of Transylvania, Brașov and Sibiu. Nonetheless, not before new and great oscillations were registered between the solutions of the past, for the restoration of which the people of Brașov militated, and those foreseen by the ruler of Wallachia and his own interests (Manolescu, 1995, 43). Interesting in this context is a document from Lucas Trappoldner, notary of Sibiu (1529–1545), referring to a request from the guilds of swordsmen, marksmen, combmen, bowmen and shieldsmen from Sibiu and Transylvania asking the Saxon University to stop swordsmen in Brașov from selling their products elsewhere than in Barsa Country, Szeklerland, Moldova and Wallachia (Quellen, IX, 1888, 169–170).

In addition to their economic activity, the merchants also repeatedly served as diplomats, proxies of the Saxon cities or even of the voivodes of Transylvania, next to the royal courts of Moldavia and Wallachia. Therefore, when good relations were maintained between the three Romanian countries, the commercial activities were extremely active and very close. The trade exchanges between Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania were therefore strongly influenced by the stage of political ties between them. In addition to these external obstacles, in certain periods there were others, of an internal nature, which slowed down the normal development of trade relations. Thus, the periods of anarchy in the two Romanian countries south and east of the Carpathians registered very weak political and commercial ties, a fact illustrated by the decrease in the number of documents that show the links between cities and between countries. Chronologically speaking, Ştefan Pascu distinguishes a period of economic regression at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th, between the moment of the death of King Matia Corvin (1490) and the battle of Mohács (1526).

In Transylvania, handicraft production was regulated after this period of instability only in 1541, when the region became an autonomous principality, setting, at the same time, those "limitations", i.e. the prices of handicrafts. Now there happen acts of craftsmen ennobling, a proof of the socio-economic importance acquired by guild-leading craftsmen.

The documents attesting the commercial connections of Sibiu with Wallachia were largely lost, some of them being, however, published by Silviu Dragomir in 1927. In addition to the official documents of a political nature and the particular ones between magistrates and guild craftsmen, on the one

hand, and the rulers and boyars from Wallachia, on the other hand, a special category of documents, which refer to the economic relations, is represented by the vigesimal registers of Sibiu during the 16th century. Of these, only the one from 1500 was published in full in *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Hermannstadt* (Manolescu, 1956, 210; Pakucs Willcocks, 2007). Despite the shortage of documents, it is certain that there was a greater economic and commercial circulation to Wallachia than the existing documentary evidence suggests. A possible cause of the relatively weak trade relations between Sibiu and Wallachia, especially since the second half of the 16th century, is the fact that most of the trade flow passed, for the reasons mentioned above, through Brașov, which held, we can say, a monopoly over trade with Wallachia in the period mentioned.

Trade with Wallachia was carried out in both directions, i.e. a series of handicraft products were exported to it and especially agricultural products and raw materials were imported in Sibiu. Imports from Wallachia were determined by the need for food and raw materials of Sibiu, they are also related to the development of crafts and trade in Sibiu and the growth of the city, during the 15th–16th centuries, elements that explain the growing demand of raw materials and food. Another factor that favoured these imports was the fact that there were no restrictions for Sibiu merchants to buy natural products from Wallachia. In a letter of July 29, 1467–1470, Radu cel Frumos states clearly: "Let your people (of the city of Sibiu – author's note) be free to return with everything" (Dragomir, 1927, 11, no. 1).

Despite the important quantity of exported products, Wallachia imported a more and more diversified range, due to the weaker development of crafts, which made it a good market for Sibiu craftsmen. The evaluation of the imports of Wallachia from Sibiu can be made starting with the year 1500, based on the customs registers mentioned, as for the previous period they are completely missing or are too scarce.

The connection with Wallachia was made through the Olt gorge, the only existing road. The road from Sibiu to Târgovişte and later Bucharest, before passing on the left bank of the Olt to Slatina, branches to the right, reaching, through Craiova, over Jiu, the Vidin ford, where the Calafat fortress was a customs point on Wallachian territory, being attested as such since 1424, from the time of Dan II (Meteş, 1921, 24). The customs transit point between Wallachia and Transylvania was fixed at Turnu Roşu, where in the 14th century a guard fortress was built. On July 29, 1473, Matia Corvin, king of Hungary, allowed the people of Sibiu to widen the road from Turnu Roşu – which became impassable in autumn and winter due to floods and snow –, provided they guarded this entrance to Transylvania (*DIR*, C, XV/1, 81). The guard fortress

from Turnu Roşu (*Rubea Turris*) became a fairly large customs point, and in the 16th century, as a result of the intensification of trade, a customs point was also organized in Tălmaciu.

The goods sold by the merchants from Wallachia were mainly natural products, handicraft products, but in quite small quantities, whilst the oriental goods were procured from the Ottoman side. The Sibiu products given in exchange were mainly handicrafts: steel, iron, copper, knives and Western products, especially cloths, velvets and weapons. Wallachian merchants traded the goods in Sibiu in the princely bazaar.

The articles of armourware and hardware which were exported to Wallachia were mainly knives, shields, axes, maces. The prices charged by the guild craftsmen for their products were: 1000 knives – 12 florins, 4 maces – 4 florins (*Rechnungen Hermanstadt*, 103; Kaidl, 1907, 332).

In addition to the above-mentioned products, Sibiu merchants also exported broadcloth, linen, hemp, weapons (arrows, bows, swords, muskets, cannons), saddles and objects of silverware. The trade in various weapons is also attested by the presence in Sibiu, in the second half of the 14th century, of craftsmen who made swords, spears, shields, chainmails, breastplates and firearms. Regarding the import of weapons from Wallachia, neither the quantity nor the value can be determined exactly, because the goods were entered in the customs register globally, without differentiations on products.

The prices for steel products were set by the Diets of Cluj (November 25 – December 7, 1556) and Aiud (March 10–15, 1560), prices that reflected the upward trend towards the end of the 16th century. Thus we have:

1 hoe	16–20 dinars
1 axe	3–10 dinars
1 steel scales	300 dinars

For the year 1500, the statistical table of goods imported by Wallachia from Sibiu is as follows (*Monumenta Comitialia Transylvaniae*, II, 70–71, 182):

Raw materials	steel and iron	4 020 dinars
Tools	scythe and other tools	8 350 dinars
Weapons	179 500 knives	215 400 dinars
Total		227 770 dinars

The trade relations of the Sibiu guildsmen with Wallachia suffered during the periods when Hungary or Transylvania were in conflict with the former. In addition to the political impediments, the guild of Sibiu gunsmiths also

had to face the rivalry of the gunsmiths from Brașov whom they entered into competition with. During this trade war, the people of Sibiu tried, during the reign of Alexandru Aldea (1431–1436), to replace the Saxons from Brașov in their relations with Wallachia (Iorga, 1925, 78, 94). But, in a short time, Brașov began to gain ground: in 1500, the value of the products bought by Wallachia from Sibiu was only 4500 florins, while in 1503, goods worth 26,000 florins were bought from Brașov.

In the fight for supremacy on the Romanian market south of the Carpathians, the Sibiu guildsmen tried to obtain as many conventions as possible stipulating the right to trade exclusively in certain products. For this purpose, such an agreement was concluded with Vlad Țepeş, who gave the Saxons from Sibiu the right to trade, provided that they did not shelter the pretenders to the throne of Wallachia. This convention was certified in two deeds from 1457 and 1458 regarding the relations between Wallachia and Transylvania. Both were issued by Mihail Szilagy, Ioan de Hunedoara's brother-in-law (Gundisch, 1963, 681), but they were not kept in the original, but only as copies and were written on the two pages of a simple sheet of paper, without watermark, by the hand of one and the same copyist, probably the notary of the city and of the province of Sibiu (DJAN, 1850).

The documents deal with the period of fighting for the Hungarian throne after the death of Ioan of Hunedoara. Mihail Szilagy sought to strengthen the position of the Huniad camp in Transylvania and Hungary, coming into conflict with King Ladislaus V, a conflict in which the cities of Brașov and Sibiu sided with the king. Finally, Sibiu, in exchange for the assurance that he will not support any claimant to the throne of Wallachia, concluded a trade treaty with Vlad Țepeş, who wanted to cover his back in order to act freely with Mihail Szilagy.

In this context of political turmoil, Vlad Țepeş's successors sought to procure the best possible weapons for their army, through orders addressed to the Sibiu gunsmiths. Proof of this is the letter of Basarab cel Bătrân Laiotă from 1474: "[...]. My lordship writes wishing good health to our good friends, to the burgh craftsman and to the ruling mayor and to the 12 city councillors from Sibiu [...] and again I sent our good people Chirca of Marin and Giurca and Minea to buy bows and shields and cloth and some other things for me, what my lordship needs" (Dragomir, 1927, 14). We understand from this document that the ruler of Wallachia was not at the first purchase of goods from Sibiu, he sent "again (...) our good people", Chirca, son of Marin, Giurca and Minea to Sibiu. One could also interpret the order in which he demanded goods (bows, shields and cloth and "some other things"), assuming that he needed weapons more, as it was known that in this period, i.e. the seventh decade of the 15th century,

Wallachia went through political unrest, manifested by frequent changes of rulers. In 1474, when he requested weapons from Sibiu, Basarab cel Bătrân had just been installed on the throne by Ștefan cel Mare, ruler of Moldavia, with the purpose of creating an anti-Ottoman Romanian politico-military alliance.

Two years after this, when Matia Corvin supported the action against Basarab cel Bătrân, who had declared submission to the Turks, Sibiu armed a unit of 50 horsemen and also sent *bombers, cannons with stone projectiles*. The king's request to the mayor of the city was made on September 6, 1476 and referred to the units that had fought in Moldavia at Brețcu, together with Ştefan cel Mare, on August 14, 1476 (DJAN, Sibiu, II, 370).

Towards the end of the 15th century, as a result of the state of conflict between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, the voivode of Transylvania, Ştefan Bathory, forbade the export of arms to Wallachia on April 27, 1481: *Sagittas scuttela nec non ferrea arma et alias bellicas ac pillos* (DIR, C, XV). This ban hit the commercial interests of the guilds of arms manufacturers in Sibiu. Therefore, as a hypothesis, because the documentary support is very deficient in these activities, it can be stated that such bans did not completely stop the flow of weapons to the beneficiaries and even if the guilds, according to their statutes, complied with the ban, there were enough craftsmen that were not part of the guild and did not take this provision into account.

What is certain is that this type of trade existed, as evidenced by an act from 1508, in which the king of Hungary, Ladislaus II Jagello (1490–1516), was extremely dissatisfied with the repeated violations of the privileges of Brașov by Moldavian merchants. In order to avoid the payment of vigesimal taxes, but especially to avoid the application of the warehousing right of Brașov, the latter walked on detours, thus bringing much damage to this city.

The situation was repeated in 1517, when the Hungarian king issued an order providing for severe punishment of all merchants who dared to violate the warehousing or customs duties of Transylvanian cities (DJAN, Brașov, 335). The act probably came at a time when smuggling had reached a very high level. This opinion is reinforced by the existence of a second order given by the king, two years later, in 1519. Here reference is made to the exemplary punishment of merchants whether they were from Transylvania or from Wallachia and Moldavia.

The events after 1526 made the situation much more complicated. Numerous battles for the throne of the kingdom led to the phenomenon of smuggling getting ever bigger. Remarkable are the repeated requests of the Hungarian kings, in 1533 and 1537, for the Szeklers not to bypass the customs and to pay the vigesimal due to the cities in southern Transylvania for the goods transited to Wallachia.

An indirect proof related to the arms smuggling trade can be the strengthening of the ban on trade in these articles given by Ştefan Báthory as well. On this occasion, he specified clearly the goods whose export was forbidden: weapons, horses and sheep. At the same time, in order to stop the desire of some to pass small quantities of weapons as their own arsenal, the voivode of Transylvania's chancellery issued an edict clearly establishing the number of weapons that a person could cross the border in Wallachia: "Anyone going through the Bran pass in Wallachia cannot carry more than a sword, a bow, a shield and 8–9 arrows." (DIR, C, XV, I, 2, 293–294, nr. 262). This document is eligible to support in some way the hypothesis issued above, regarding the arms smuggling trade. The deed would not have made sense if cases of violation of the ban on selling weapons in Wallachia had not been discovered. It significantly reduced the possibility of customs clearance of weapons that could be sold beyond the Carpathians. In support of what has been said so far, we can cite the document of March 18, 1583, issued by Stefan Báthory, king of Poland and prince of Transylvania, an act ordering the Szekler mayor, the castellan of Făgăraş and the magistrates of Sibiu and Brașov to close and guard those pathways (*occulta et oblitqua itinera*) between Transylvania and Wallachia, on which the merchants sneak up, not infrequently, avoiding "to pay the customs, the public roads from Turnu Roşu, Bran, Teleajen and Prahova".

The repeated demands of the Hungarian kings to respect the warehousing rights of the cities of southern Transylvania, the circumvention and non-payment of taxes due to both the central administration and the respective cities prove the existence of a genuine smuggling phenomenon. It could not be stopped, but the efforts of the royalty must be associated with the limitation of these illegal actions.

This forbidden trade in weapons is indirectly attested by numerous documents from the second half of the 16th century, documents that speak of the hidden ways and paths that served for the exchange of goods between Transylvania and Wallachia (Meteş, 1921, 43; *DIR*, C, XV, 692) [1].

In 1511, Ladislaus II of Hungary ordered a temporary lifting of the embargo on the arms trade to Wallachia, as a means of facilitating support to Vlad cel Tânăr, ruler of Wallachia: "but only as much as he will need for his own, and not to send to the Turks." (DJAN, Sibiu, no. 150, 13). The deed of lifting the interdiction is dated August 4, 1511 and here it is clearly stipulated that Vlad cel Tânăr is allowed to buy weapons from the Sibiu guildsmen. The Wallachian envoy, namely Ruhan, arrived in Sibiu on September 24–27, 1511, with the power of King Ladislaus II of Hungary, who allowed him: "to buy and bring weapons against the cunning, too cruel enemies of Christian law." As a result of the lifting of the embargo, which was actually in part, because the special

approval of the king of Hungary or the voivode of Transylvania was needed to trade in arms beyond the Carpathians, it is attested that in February 1526 the Sibiu guilds sent to Vladislav III, the ruler of Wallachia, 28 rifles, gunpowder and lead, in exchange for which Sibiu receives an act that enshrines peaceful ties with Wallachia.

After September 13, 1552, the purchase of 526 broadswords was recorded, for which the sum of 18 florins and 43 asprons was paid. 200 battle axes were also bought, for which the sum of 21 florins was paid. In fact, 10 broadswords were bought from the armourers of Brașov by the ruler of Wallachia, Radu de la Afumați, on March 26, 1522, worth 5 florins. On this occasion, the Wallachian ruler bought 10 bow quivers as well, of a total worth of 6 florins.

Towards the end of the first half of the 16th century, normalizing the relations between Transylvania and Wallachia, there are more and more gifts made by the Sibiu guilds in exchange for obtaining commercial advantages beyond the Carpathians. Thus, Mircea Ciobanul received from them, on May 26, 1551: "a golden helmet, two golden shields (*paysis*) and a cup of gilded silver." (*DIR*, C, XI, 863). In his turn, in the last year of his reign, Pătraşcu cel Bun (1554–1557) would receive "five vessels with gunpowder, four shields" and a gilded cup worth 50 florins and 72 dinars (DIR, C, XI, 868). In 1558, after the death of Pătraşcu cel Bun, Mircea Ciobanul returned to the throne of Wallachia, receiving from the Sibiu gunsmiths, in the hope of resuming the fruitful trade ties, "a golden shield and two swords", among other gifts from the mayor of the city of Sibiu (*DIR*, C, XI, 869–870).

Three years later, in 1561, the Diet of Turda and that of Cluj (April 11–18, 1561) banned the export of weapons *ad regna exotica*, i.e. in the southern Danube regions.

But perhaps the most important document which clearly attests a weapon transaction is the letter-receipt of Calotă *the Ban*, addressed to the Sibiu gunsmiths, between 1599–1600. This document confirms the receipt of one hundred swords on behalf of the Sibiu *dajdia*, the swords later handed over to the dorobants from Strehaia: "«1599–1600».+ Io banu Calotă dau în ştire că eu 100 de săbii de cetate Sebilu[i], în sama lui vodă, să plătească [de] dajde ceta[t] ei, să de ... [pen]tru săbieru şi bani 1060. Şi săbile le duce Matei izbaşe la Strehae dărăbanților." (Panaitescu, 1938, 37, nr. XXVII) (translator's note: "I, Calotă the Ban, offer, as taxes, 100 swords to the city of Sibiu, and the swordsman is to receive money worth of 1060. The swords will be taken to the dorobants from Strehaia by Matei izbasa (= the secretary of the royal court)".

The document suggests that the hundred swords were paid to the craftsman from whom the mayor took them to pay the "dajdea" ("tax"); otherwise, the following words could not be explained: "and the swordsman is to receive

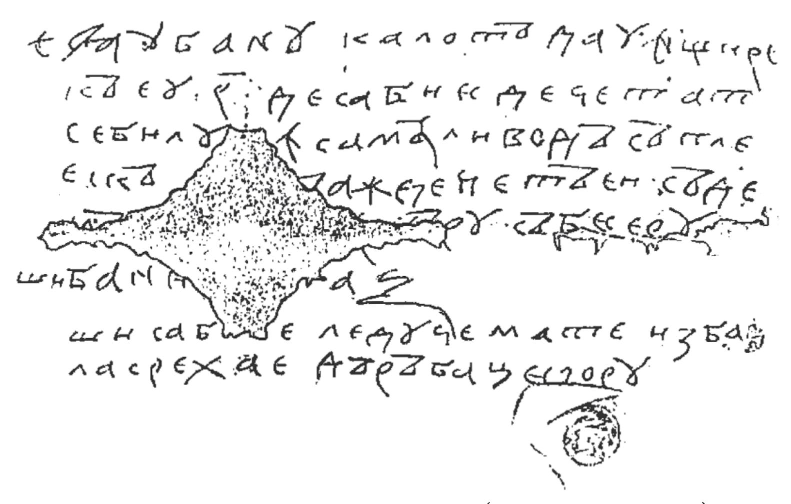


Fig. 3. Receipt letter from 1599–1600 (after P. P. Panaitescu)

money worth of...1060". This hypothesis may not be viable, because here the document is damaged and some words or parts of words are missing. In any case, it is clear that the swords or spades sent to Strehaia were made in Sibiu by the masters of the gunsmiths' guild. The trade relations of the Sibiu Saxons in the field of arms exports did not take place only with the two Romanian countries south and east of the Carpathians. Direct contacts also took place with the Turks, as evidenced by a document dated 1499, issued by the chancellery of King Vladislav II of Hungary. Concerned with the prevention of the Ottoman danger, he forbade Sibiu merchants to export *weapons* and horses to the Ottoman Empire (DJAN, Sibiu, U. II, no. 642). Obviously, the ban was aimed at what was of strategic interest to the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania, as it was very clear that direct trade relations had previously taken place between Sibiu and the Ottoman Empire territories. This is also supported by the deeds that speak of the prohibition of the arms trade *ad regna exotica*, documents issued by the Diets of 1561.

The era of the hegemony of the Hungarian kingdom in south-eastern Europe had as a commercial manifestation the regime of large concessions imposed on Wallachia in favour of the two cities in southern Transylvania, concessions in the privileges granted by the rulers of Wallachia to the Transylvanian emporium. However, in the middle of the 15th century, the Ottoman domination, consolidated in the Balkan Peninsula and on the Danube line, imposed a new balance in the relations with Hungary, changing the position and the international status of Wallachia. The Hungarian Kingdom was thus forced to recognize and confirm, even if for a limited time only, the relationship

established between the Ottoman Empire and Wallachia to the detriment of its own authorities and claims (Papacostea, 1983, 25).

The role of the Brașov people in regional trade is very important, as it appears from a series of regulations and commercial privileges from the 15th century. Their number increased significantly from the second half of the 14th century, so that later on, in the second half of the 15th century, Brașov surpassed Sibiu in terms of economic privileges obtained (Țiplic, Niedermaier, 2006, 130–131).

The weapons exported by the Brașov and Sibiu guilds to Wallachia and Moldova, referenced in the commercial privileges and in the dispositions of the Hungarian and Transylvanian authorities, were: swords, spears, bows, quivers, arrows, shields, plates, firearms, powder (Bogdan, 1905, 19, 20, 23, 25, 28, 34, 37, 63, 80, 89, 121, 129, 190, 191). The products of Brașov swordsmen and bowmen were, most of the time, exempted from the customs duties collected by the rulers from Târgovişte/Bucharest.

Notes

[1] Such paths were those from Teleajen and Prahova, attested in 1542, as well as those from the Făgăraş Mountains and the area inhabited by the Szeklers, which are the subject of the 1583 document.

Bibliographical references

DIR – Documente privind Istoria României (Documents regarding the History of Romania).

DJAN, Brașov – Direcția Județeană a Arhivelor Naționale, Brașov (County Directorate of National Archives, Brașov).

DJAN, Sibiu – Direcția Județeană a Arhivelor Naționale, Sibiu((County Directorate of National Archives, Sibiu).

DRH, D – Documenta Romaniae Historica, D. Relații cu Țările Române, vol. I, București.

Monumenta Comitialia regni Transylvaniae, II, Budapest.

Quellen – Quellen zur Geschichte Kronstadt aus Säschsischen Archiven, II. Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt, I-VI, Brașov, 1886–1915.

Rechnungen Hermannstadt – Quellen zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens aus Sächsischen Archiven. Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Hermannstadt, IX, Sibiu, 1888.

Urkundenbuch – ZIMMERMAN Franz, WERNER Karl, MÜLLER Georg: *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, I-VII, Sibiu, 1892–1991.

BOGDAN Ioan, 1905: *Documente privitoare la Relațiile Țării Românești cu Brasovul și cu Țara Ungurească în sec. XV și XVI*, vol. I: 1413–1508, București.

BRAUNSTEIN Phillip, 1994: "Les métiers du métal. Travail et entreprise à la fin

du Moyen Âge", în *Les Métiers au Moyen Âge. Aspects économique et sociaux*, Actes du Colloque Internnational de Louvain-la-Neuve, 7–9 octobre 1993, Louvain-la-Neuve.

DRAGOMIR Silviu, 1927: *Documente nouă privitoare la relaţiile Ţării Româneşti cu Sibiu în secolii XV şi XVI*, Bucureşti.

DRÎMBA Ovidiu, 1987: *Istoria culturii şi civilizaţiei*, vol. II, Bucureşti.

GÜNDISCH Gustav, 1963: "Cu privire la relaţiile lui Vlad Ţepeş cu Transilvania în anii 1456–1458", în *Studii. Revistă de Istorie*, tom. XVI, nr. 3, p. 861–896.

IORGA Nicolae, 1925: *Istoria comerţului românesc*, Bucureşti.

KAIDL Rudolf Fr., 1907: *Geschichte der Deutschen in Karpathenlanders*, vol. II, Gotha.

Le Goff Jacques, 1986: *Pentru un alt Ev Mediu. Valori umaniste în cultura şi civilizaţia Evului Mediu*, vol. I, Bucureşti, Editura Meridiane.

MANOLESCU Radu, 1956: "Relaţiile comerciale ale Ţării Româneşti cu Sibiul la începutul secolului al XVI-lea", în *Analelel Universităţii C. I. Parhon*, 5, Bucureşti.

MANOLESCU Radu, 1965: *Comerţul Ţării Româneşti şi Moldovei cu Braşovul (secolele XIV-XVI)*, Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică.

MANOLESCU Radu, 1995: "Relaţiile economice şi demografice între oraşe din Ţările Române şi din Europa Centrală în prima jumătate a secolului al XV-lea", în *David Prodan – puterea modelului*, Cluj-Napoca.

METEŞ Ştefan, 1921: *Relaţiile comerciale ale Ţării Româneşti cu Ardealul până în veacul al XVIII-lea*, Sighişoara.

PALL Francisc, 1966: "Iancu de Hunedoara şi confirmarea privilegiului pentru negoţul braşovenilor şi al bârsanilor cu Ţara Românească în 1443", în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie*, IX, Cluj-Napoca.

PAKUCS WILLCOCKS Maria, 2007: *Sibiu – Hermannstadt. Oriental Trade in Sixteen Century in Transyivania*, Koln-Weimar-Wien.

PANAITESCU Petre P., 1938: *Documente slavo-române din Sibiu (1470–1653)*, Bucureşti.

PAPACOSTEA Şerban, 1983: "Începuturile politicii comerciale a Ţării Româneşti şi Moldovei (sec. XIV-XVI). Drum şi stat", în *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie*, vol. X, p. 9–56.

PASCU Ştefan, 1956: "Relaţiile economice dintre Moldova şi Transilvania în timpul lui Ştefan cel Mare", în *Studii cu privire la Ştefan cel Mare*, Bucureşti.

PHILIPPI Maja, 2001: "Structura socială a Braşovului în evul mediu", în *Transilvania şi saşii ardeleni în istoriografie. Din publicaţiile Asociaţiei de Studii Transilvane Heildeberg*, Sibiu.

STOICESCU Nicolae, 1976: *Vlad Ţepeş*, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei R.S.R.

ŢIPLIC Ioan Marian, 1996: "Legăturile economice ale breslelor producătoare de armament din Sibiu cu Moldova şi Ţara Românească", în *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane*, III, Sibiu.

ŢIPLIC Maria Emilia, NIEDERMAIER Paul, 2006: "Privilegiile comerciale ale oraşelor din Transilvania până la sfârşitul secolului al XV-lea/Az erdély várasok

kereskedelmi kiváltságai a XV. Század végéig" în *Orașe și orășeni/ Várasok és városlakók*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Argonaut.
VLAICU Monica (ed.), 2003: *Comerț și meșteșugari în Sibiu și cele șapte scaune, 1224–1579/ Handel und Gewerbe in Hermannstadt und in den Sieben Stuhlen, 1224–1579*, Sibiu-Heidelberg.

Aspects of the Economic and Social Life of the City of Câmpulung (Late 15th Century – First Half of the 16th Century)

Diana Grigor
(Doctoral School of the „Valahia" University of Târgovişte)

The oldest urban settlement of Wallachia, as attested by the 1300 inscription on Count Laurențiu's tombstone (Iorga, I, 1900, 273, no. I), Câmpulung was set up after a long and extremely complex historical process, evolving, in our opinion, from a rural, autochthonous community, documented only on July 6, 1395 (*DRH*, D, I, 1977, 150, no. 94), but which, no doubt, existed long before, probably as early as the 9th and 12th centuries. According to some historians, however, the Saxon settlers who came from Braşov, at the end of the 13th century, would have constituted here, in Câmpulung, a special community (Rădvan, 2004, 87; Ciocîltan, 2015, 65–66).

Under the influence of a set of demographic, political and economic factors, during the 14th–15th centuries the settlement of Câmpulung acquired the status of "fair", as it results from the deed issued by Dan II at the beginning of 1431 (*DRH*, B, I, 1966, 131, no. 69), so that in the second half of the 15th century it would present all the specific elements of an urban centre (Rădvan, 2004, 395–432).

Positioned near the border with Transylvania, at the intersection of important trade routes from the medieval period: the first was the "Nicopolis road", which came from Braşov, crossing the Southern Carpathians through the Rucăr-Bran pass, passing through Câmpulung, then through Piteşti, Slatina, Roşiorii de Vede, Turnu (on the Romanian shore), crossed the Danube reaching the Bulgarian shore, at Nicopolis; the second, the "Şistovului Road", is described in 1385 by the German pilgrims Peter Sparnau and Ulrich von Tennstädt (*Călători străini*, I, 1968, 19–20), who, returning from Jerusalem, passed through Târnovo and Şiştov, arrived in Wallachia, crossing the Wallachian settlements Ruşii de Vede, Piteşti (*Nuwestadt*), Argeş, reaching Câmpulung,

and from here they crossed the Carpathians to Braşov (*Călători străini*, I, 1968, 19–20).

From the woodcut map of Transylvania, made by the Braşov humanist Johannes Honterus (1498–1549), printed in Basel in 1532 (Săvoiu, 2009, 6), we learn that Câmpulung (*Langenau*) was located at the foot of the Carpathian Mountains, whilst from the accounts of mid-seventeenth-century foreign travellers we learn that it lay "betwixt smaller mountains" (*Călători străini*, V, 1979, 209) and "at a distance of one day from Târgovişte, towards the borders of Transylvania" (Del Chiaro, 1929, 10).

Analysing the historical process of the Transcarpathian demographic influx of Saxons and Hungarians, the historian Grigore Constantinescu observed that the demographic share of the local population in Câmpulung must have been one of the factors that determined the establishment of craftsmen and merchants from Transylvania, attracted by the possibility of capitalizing their products through local trade (Constantinescu, 1999, 103).

Regarding the relations existing between the two communities, the Saxon, Catholic and the Romanian, Orthodox (considered schismatic by Catholics), historians' opinions are divided. Some consider that the Saxons from Câmpulung would have constituted, before the founding of the medieval state, an autonomous community, distinct from the local one, while other historians think that there were relations of collaboration, interdependence and not subordination between the Romanian native population and the Saxon colonists (Neagoe, 2008, 85).

At the end of the 14^{th} century, the two distinct ethnic and confessional communities in Câmpulung were already "merged" from an administrative, economic and social point of view, headed by a "mayor" since the time of Nicolae Alexandru (Rom. *jude*, Slav. *sudeț*), probably elected annually, either from among Catholics or from the Orthodox (Neagoe, 2008, 89).

The old hearth of the city of Câmpulung was located in the south, in the area of the oldest places of worship, two Catholic, Cloaşterul and Bărăția, and an Orthodox one, respectively the princely church, later called "Negru Vodă's church" (Cantacuzino, 2002, 77–97).

As early as the 15^{th} century, most of the houses and gardens in Câmpulung would line up along the main access road that crossed the settlement from south to north (Oprescu, 2004, 18–19), later known from a Câmpulung document issued on August 5, 1775 under the name of "Ulița cea Mare" (Pârnuță and Trâmbaciu, II, 1999, doc. 104, p. 196). It probably started from the area of the Negru Vodă Monastery and went to the north of the city to Valea Mare, from where the Rucărului and Branului road began (Neagoe and Boboc, 2007, 129).

In the 15th century, Câmpulung was without a doubt one of the most important commercial centres of Wallachia, a fact proved by the fact that here were written the charters by which, on August 6 and August 25, 1413 Mircea cel Bătrân renewed and strengthened the privileges "they had from the ancestors of my reign" (*DRH*, D, I, 1977, 197–198, no. 120 and 197–198, no. 246], privileges "regarding the customs of both parties, i.e. of Wallachia and of <țara> Bârsei" (*DRH*, D, I, 1977, 197–198, no. 120), as well as the document from April-May 1427 by which the voivode Dan II invited the people of Braşov to come to Câmpulung to do business (*DRH*, D, I, 1977, 249–250, no. 154). Later, under the impulse of commercial activities, the city of Câmpulung would pass through a handicraft development (Tudor, 1984, 49–55).

In the second half of the 15th century, the local merchants from the south of the Carpathians reached a high level of prosperity and, through an increasing competition with the merchants from Braşov, they managed, in the last decade of the above-mentioned century, to remove their commercial hegemony in Wallachia.

In Câmpulung, the Wallachian merchants categorically imposed themselves in front of the Saxon merchants, a fact demonstrated by the 1503 Braşov vigesimal register where, under the heading *mercatores magni seu grandi* (*Quellen*, I, 1886, 46–75), there appear such names as David from Câmpulung (*Quellen*, I, 1886, 47), Rădilă from Câmpulung (*Quellen*, I, 1886, 49–50), Stoica from Câmpulung (*Quellen*, I, 1886, 56), Neacşu from Câmpulung (*Quellen*, I, 1886, 58) and Voicu from Câmpulung (*Quellen*, I, 1886, 74). It can be seen that there was no Saxon among the great merchants of this city, the latter being Romanian.

The dominant position of the Wallachian merchants in the commercial sphere, as compared to the Saxon merchants, can also be deduced from the 1529 Braşov accounts, where we find such merchants from Câmpulung as: Moş (Manolescu, 1, 2005, 43, 50), Dragomir (Manolescu, 1, 2005, 50), Rădilă (Manolescu, 1, 2005, 50), Dobromir (Manolescu, 1, 2005, 55), Tudor (Manolescu, 1, 2005, 56), Filip (Manolescu, 1, 2005, 56) or Nastase (Manolescu, 1, 2005, 68).

According to an old tradition regarding the fair that was held annually in Câmpulung, later on known as the "fair or assembly of St. Elijah", it is recorded that, at the beginning, as we learn from the oldest monograph of the city, it was held on the so-called "plain of Dâmbovița", on the crest of a mountain named Saint Elijah (Aricescu, 2007, 133–134).

In the first decades of the 15th century, this "assembly" or, better said, "sbor", as it comes from the Slavic word "sobor" ("gathering, assembly"), would be moved, according to some opinions, to the centre of the Câmpulung

settlement, on the place where a wooden church, called Biserica Sf. Ilie (St. Elijah Church), would be built later on, at around 1480 (Neagoe, 2009, 67).

The famous Câmpulung fair also aroused the interest of some Saxon chroniclers. About this, the Saxon chronicler Georg Kraus, a native of Sighişoara, recorded, in a testimony prior to 1611, the following: "where every year, on St. Elijah's Day, a great fair takes place which lasts a whole month. For 12 years (...) I went there every year" (Armbuster, 1980, 294). A few years later, Andreas Hegyes from Braşov would mention, on July 28, 1614, the fact that the fair in Câmpulung is the place where the Romanians organise their "dancing feast" of St. Elijah, respectively on July 20 (*Ouellen*, V, 1909, 499).

At the beginning of the 18th century, Anton Maria del Chiaro, Constantin Brâncoveanu's secretary, mentioned that the famous annual "fair" in Câmpulung was held every year "in the middle of July" (Del Chiaro, 1929, 10], more precisely between the Holy Martyr Marina (July 17) and the Holy Great Martyr and Healer Pantelimon (July 27) (Trâmbaciu, 1989, 301–302; Neagoe, 2002, 225).

In the internal documents, the oldest mention about this "fair" is made in the deed given by the voivode Dan II, after January 30, 1431, by which he wrote "to all the fairs of my lordship and customs: to the people from Rucăr and Câmpulung" that he renewed the commercial privilege of the people of Braşov conferred on them by Mircea cel Bătrân (*DRH*, D, I, 1966, 131, no. 69).

The Câmpulung fair had a regional character (Neagoe, 2002, p. 225) and not an international one (Mârţu, 1974, 37), the Câmpulung trade, from the perspective of the commercial relations it had with Braşov, fell into the category of "medium-distance trade" (Murgescu, 1999, 43–44; Neagoe, 2009, p. 43) with such consumer products as: honey, wax, cheese, etc. Here, Braşov merchants sold weapons, plows, forks, sewing, knives, hinges, door locks, bells, ceramic vessels, fabrics, while Sibiu merchants brought whips, halters, harnesses, girdles, saddles and wooden vessels (Trâmbaciu, 1997, 82), and the merchants of the South Danube, who would appear since the beginning of the 16th century, brought oriental products, such as: ginger, figs, almonds, raisins, pepper, rice (Neagoe, 2005, 364–365; Neagoe, 2009, 125).

The goods circulating on the Braşov market, sold by Câmpulung merchants, were primarily local products including: fish, cattle (oxen and cows), bacon, raw hides, wax, honey, wine dishes (Dobre, 1944, 510). In 1503, Rădilă from Câmpulung brought wax and honey to the town under Tâmpa (*Ouellen,* I, 1886, 50). Şerban also brought honey and wax in the same year, another one, Golta, brought 6 carp carts, while Buda came with cow hides and a certain Serb sold wool (Neagoe, Galaţi, 2009, 71–72).

Regarding the wax quantities to be found in Câmpulung, in 1508–1509

voivode Mihnea cel Rău wrote to the Braşov mayor and to the 12 city councillors that "there is wax ready in Câmpulung (*Dlagopole*), and there is enough of it, as much as it will be needed", at the same time ensuring its passing over the mountains (Pârnuță şi Trâmbaciu, I, 1999, 148, no. 19).

Along with wax, another product sold in Câmpulung was wine. Its price varied, however, from the customs registers of Braşov we find that, around 1543, four vessels of wine bought in Câmpulung cost 38 florins and 25 asprons (*Quellen*, III, 1896, 66).

In the first half of the 16th century, with the accentuation of the Ottoman domination in Wallachia, Câmpulung, just like other Wallachian cities, reoriented in the long run towards the "universe-Ottoman economy", a fact proved by the growing number of merchants from south of the Danube participating in the annual Câmpulung fair and, of course, by the oriental products on the domestic market as well (Neagoe, 2005, 364).

Oriental goods, such as spices (pepper, allspice, cinnamon, cloves, rice, etc.), silk fabrics (brocade, atlas, velvet, cloth), cloths, carpets, furs, kettles, slippers, etc. (Dobre, 1944, 512) represented an imported category of trade on the Transylvanian market. These were brought on the Braşov market by influential merchants, of which an important share was held by such Câmpulung merchants as: Demitru, Sima, Stamate, Voicu, Nicolae, Mihai, Stanciu, Stoica, Rădilă in 1542 (Manolescu, 5, 2007, 1–33), Dragomir, another Mihai from Câmpulung, Stanciu, Voicu, Stamate, Dumitru, Radu, Dragomir in 1543 (Manolescu, 5, 2007, 43–77) or, in 1545, Stamate, Francylla, Vlad, Mihai, Gherghina, Mihu, Neacşu, all from Câmpulung (Manolescu, 5, 2007, 137–233).

In Sibiu, on April 26, 1550, Petru of Câmpulung brought 31 pounds of raisins (1 pound being the hundredth part of a scale or hundredweight. The Hungarian hundredweight (Buda scale) weighed 58,929 kg until 1680 (Stoicescu, 1971, 251–282), and on May 9 of the same year, Dan from Câmpulung brought 31 pounds of raisins, 9 pounds of cotton and 15 pounds of rice (Neagoe, 2009, p. 76).

A foreign commodity, very expensive and rare, were Turkish horses. The noble animals could only be bought by rich people, such as the mayors of Braşov, the rulers or the great merchants. Thus, Petru Pitarul is mentioned in the 1534 Braşov Customs Register as having brought, among other goods, a Turkish horse from Vlad Vodă for the mayors of Braşov (*Quellen*, II, 1889, 373).

We may notice that, along time, Câmpulung kept its first place in the order of the Wallachian fairs engaged in commercial operations with Braşov, as it appears from the calculations of the customs registers from the years 1503,

1530, 1542, 1543, 1545 and 1547–1548 [R. Manolescu, II, Bucharest, 1957, pp. 189–191], while the place of the other cities oscillates.

In 1503 there came to Braşov Mihai, Radu, Stoica, Neacşu, Stanciu, Golta, Rădilă, Drăguş, David, Radu (*Quellen*, I, 1886, 2–50), in 1530, Stoica, Rădilă, Stana, Luca, Dumitru (*Quellen*, II, Braşov, 1889, 227–232) and, in 1547–1548, we meet Arsene, Ivan, Cârstea, Isar, Gheorghe, Voicu, Dumitru and Stamate, all from Câmpulung (Pakucs-Willcocks, 2009, 22 –2. 3).

The evolution of the number of merchants from Câmpulung
involved in the trade with Braşov (1503–1545)

Year	Number of merchants
1503	38
1530	18
1542	61
1543	86
1545	89

(Manolescu, 1957, 199, Annex 5).

The merchants from Câmpulung were as active on the Sibiu market as they were on the Braşov market. The Sibiu *customs calculations* from the 16th century bring significant testimonies in this respect. Thus, in 1500, 47 merchants from Câmpulung are mentioned in the Sibiu registers, among which we can mention: Neacşu, Stoica, Dragoş, Stan, Radu, Stanciu, Bada, Radu, Tudor, Bran, Florea, Matei, Ştefan or Rădilă from Câmpulung (*Quellen*, I, 1886, 270–299).

The customs registers of the city of Braşov also mention kinship relations between merchants, from which it results that the merchant trade was sometimes learnt from father to son or that the brothers were engaged in business together. Thus, in 1503, Stoica, Rădilă's son from Câmpulung (*Quellen*, I, 1886, 50) is mentioned, in 1546, Frățilă's brother from Câmpulung (Manolescu, 2, 2009, 29), and in 1548, Sima cel Bătrân with his two sons (Pakucs-Willcocks, 2009, 23).

In other cases, merchants associated themselves to do business, as did Neacşu and Bomsilla (Quellen, I, 1886, 58), Golta Voica and Stoica (*Quellen*, I, 1886, 65) in 1503; Neacşu and Frățilă (*Quellen*, II, 1889, 477), in 1534 or Frățilă and Dumitru (*Quellen*, II, 1889, 584) in 1538; Nicolae and Tudor in 1546 (Pakucs-Willcocks, 2009, p. 23), in 1547, Kriste, Iszar and Gheorg from Câmpulung, who made a transport worth 207 gold florins, or Voicu, Dumitru and Stamate from Câmpulung, who made, together, two transports in total value of 2542 gold florins between 1547 and 1548 (Pakucs-Willcocks, 2009, 22–23). Even the customs registers of Sibiu mention merchants from

Câmpulung who associated themselves in order to trade, such as: Nicolae and Tudor, in 1546; Arszen and Ivan, Cristea, Isar and Gheorghe, Voicul, Dumitru and Stamate, in 1547; Sima and two others, Stamate, Voico and Dumitru, in 1548; Stamate and Dumitru, in 1549 (Pakucs-Willcocks, 2009, 22, Table 3).

During the 15th–16th centuries, the relations between the merchants from Câmpulung and those from the Transylvanian cities were of cooperation, but sometimes conflicts arose, for the resolution of which the intervention of the rulers of Wallachia was resorted to.

In connection with Rădilă, an important merchant who had been a bailsman in a ransom deal with a Turk, Vlad Vodă Călugărul wrote to the Braşov mayor and city councillors (in 1482–1495) to return to him the 40 florins unjustly detained (Pârnuţă and Trâmbaciu, I, 1999, 146–147, no. 17). The ruler of Wallachia, Radu cel Mare (1495–1508) wrote to the mayor and to the 12 city councillors of Braşov (in 1495–1508) in favour of the same Rădilă from Câmpulung (*Dlăgopole*), in relation to 18 000 knives that had not been paid for by a Saxon, "namely Blaj" (Pârnuţă and Trâmbaciu, I, 1999, 147–148, no. 18).

On August 27 (1512–1521), the voivode Neagoe Basarab addressed the mayor and the 12 city councillors of Braşov "in reference to the business of one of our men, namely Dobromir from Dlăgopole", in order to pay him a debt that he had to collect from Braşov merchants, as he, in his turn, had to pay his debts to a Turkish merchant (Pârnuţă and Trâmbaciu, I, 1999, 148–149, no. 20).

By a letter (1530–1535), mayor Mitrea of Târgovişte and the 12 city councillors intervened "in front of our honest and much loved and older, good brothers and friends, the mayor of Braşov, master Lucaciu and the 12 city councillors" in connection with a "business" in which Neacşu from Câmpulung, Hristodor from Târgovişte, Lucaciu and Hanăş Chilhav from Braşov were comrades, a comradeship that they later did not recognize (Pârnuţă and Trâmbaciu, I, 1999, 15, no. 25).

About a debt not paid by Lucaci and Hanăşi Chilhav, Vlad Vodă Vintilă wrote to the mayor and the 12 city councillors of Braşov in a letter dated March 13, 1533-June 1535, trying to obtain justice for "those men of ours, namely Neacşu from Câmpulung and Stoica from Târgovişte", demanding that their debts be paid (Pârnuţă and Trâmbaciu, I, 1999, 153, no. 26).

Another misunderstanding arose "for some fish that Aldea and Stan Galta took on credit from master Neacşu". In connection with this, between 1542–1545, one of the famous townspeople of Câmpulung, Stoica Hurduzău, wrote to the mayor of Braşov, informing him that Neacşu's sons had taken "some asprons" from the two Braşov debtors (Pârnuţă and Trâmbaciu, I, 1999, 154, no. 27).

The development of Câmpulung crafts was stimulated, first of all, by the settlement of artisans who came from Transylvania, over the centuries. At the beginning, the craft activity kept its agrarian profile, a fact that proves as clearly as possible the rural origin of Câmpulung (Hurdubețiu, Mârțu, Pârnuță, Nicolaescu and Stănescu, 1974, p. 19). The crafts were documented starting with the 15th century, when the "fair" from Câmpulung also appears in documents (1431) (*DRH,* B, I, 1966, 131, no. 69).

In a first stage, the crafts were part of the production of made-to-order articles (Olteanu, 1962, 874), to move later on to the market production required primarily by the increasing frequency and importance of the annual fair from Câmpulung. Here were sold various goods, from food to oriental spices, then tools of all kinds, materials and accessories for clothing, ceramics, musical instruments, etc.

From the 15th–16th centuries, the craftsmen from Câmpulung were organized in socio-professional "brotherhoods" or "guilds", even if, on a documentary level, these are mentioned only in the 18th century. They had their own places of worship: the potters, located in the southwestern part of the city, had Biserica Olarilor (the Church of the Potters), patronised by St. George, their spiritual patron; the furriers and the skinners, located in the southern part, had the Şubeşti Church, dedicated to Saints Constantin and Elena (Hurdubețiu and Mârțu, 1968, 35]; the barrel makers were affiliated to the Negru Vodă monastery (Hurdubețiu and Mârțu, 1968, 36); – along the Târgului river, in the southeast towards the centre, there was the Tăbăcarilor or Tabacilor neighbourhood or suburb, and the stonemasons were in the northwest, in the Schei suburb (Irimia and Scarlat, 2004, 60), but the most important social category of Câmpulung was that of the merchants.

Some craftsmen from Câmpulung, attracted by the earnings they could obtain from practising their trades in the fairs from Transylvanian cities, settled permanently, or only temporarily, north of the Carpathians. Thus, analysing the names of the members of the Braşov furriers' guild, from the 1424–1498 guild registers, we meet a certain craftsman, Toma from Câmpulung (Thomas Langenawer) (*Quellen*, IX, 1999, 33), and in 1509 Nicolae from Câmpulung (Nicklass Langenawer) (*Quellen*, IX, 1999, 292).

In the Romanian extra-Carpathian space, the appearance and development of cities as economic, political, administrative and religious centres generated the crystallization of specific elements of urban culture, elements that made their presence felt especially after the establishment of Romanian medieval states and being related to political, administrative, legal and religious activities that belonged to the royal residences (Poncea, 1999, 245).

Closely related to the emergence of elements of clerical or "court" cultural

creation, "an activity of the urban strata themselves, originating in their needs, mirroring their interests and having its distinct features, was also born and developed" (Poncea, 1999, 246).

The development of trade relations, crafts and trade required the acquisition of basic knowledge of geography, so that those engaged in business could travel to sell their goods at various fairs, or knowledge of mathematics, to perform measurements or weighing. The artisans needed more and more in-depth knowledge, necessary to practise their trade, being known that the stone carvers, especially those who inscribed crosses, tombstones, inscriptions in the narthex of churches, church painters, engravers or engravers of coins, royal seals or boyars, they were all learnt people.

The letter of Neacşu of Câmpulung, the oldest known document so far, written in Romanian with Cyrillic letters, except for the preamble in Slavonic, signifies, in the opinion of the historian Flaminiu Mârțu, "the material confirmation of the transition of the Romanian language to the rank of cultural language" (Mârțu, 1980, 247).

The epistle of the merchant from Câmpulung represents an important source of information regarding the events of the epoch in which it was written. This was addressed to Johannes Benkner, the Saxon mayor of Braşov (Puşcariu, 1930, 63) and, through it, Neacşu informed him about the departure of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent from Sofia, about the fact that 50 people from each locality were mobilized to serve as help for the army ships, about the passage of the ships at Porțile de Fier, as well as about the "freedom" to pass through Wallachia, granted by the sultan to Mehmed-beg, pieces of news that inspired fear to voivode Neagoe Basarab. All this information had been learnt by Neacşu from the neighbouring nobles and from Negre, his son-in-law. The fact that the Ottoman armies were to cross the territory of Wallachia to reach Transylvania was a real danger for the people of Braşov.

Although it is not dated, historians contextualised the letter in time on June 29 or 30, 1521 (Cazacu, 1968, 525–528), based on the information given by the author in its lines.

In addition to the "political news" (Iorga, 1905, 283), the letter also contains information "with quite transparent economic tangents" (Mârțu, 1980, 248), especially through the recommendation he makes to the Saxon mayor: "and thy highness bewarest as thou best knowest", an expression that could not have functionality on the line of some commercial interests (Mârțu, 1980, 248).

From the lines of the letter one can understand the social environment this Neacşu comes from: a well-known Câmpulung townsman, who, besides being a merchant, also had the quality of "mayor of the city" in 1521, as we find out from the list of 119 known mayors of Câmpulung (Mârțu, 1980, 248).

In conclusion, the city of Câmpulung was, during the Middle Ages, one of the most important economic and commercial centres of Wallachia, which constantly enjoyed the attention of the Wallachian rulers. At the same time, here, in Câmpulung, there was an important customs point and a place of intersection of certain commercial roads to Braşov, to Piteşti and to Târgovişte. The city of Câmpulung was famous throughout the Middle Ages, due to the annual fair, which was held around the celebration of St. Elijah (Vergatti, 2002, 221). Last but not least, here, in Câmpulung, we have the first document written in Romanian with the Cyrillic alphabet. Our great historian, Nicolae Iorga, "reading the epistle of Neacşu of Câmpulung", made the following comment: "One wonders what a confident and melodious form, what a reflexive, learned spelling is used on this piece of paper written with so much mastery at calligraphy" (Iorga, 1996, 317).

Bibliographical references

ARICESCU Constantin D., 2007: *Istoria Câmpulungului, prima rezidență a României*, ediție îngrijită de Adrian Săvoiu și Gheorghe Pârnuță, Editura Ars Docendi.

ARMBRUSTER Adolf, 1980: *Dacoromano-Saxonica Cronicari români despre sași. Românii în cronica săsească*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică.

CANTACUZINO Gheorghe I., 2002: *Câmpulung. Vechi monumente și biserici*, București, Editura Vremea.

Călători străini, I, 1968: *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. I, îngrijit de Maria Holban, București, Editura Științifică.

Călători străini, V, 1973: *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. V, îngrijit de Maria Holban (redactor responsabil), M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu, București, Editura Științifică.

CONSTANTINESCU Grigore, 1999: "Relațiile interetnice româno-germane în arealul de constituire a Țării Românești", în *Argesis, Studii și Comunicări*, Seria Istorie, tom. VIII, p. 99–114.

DEL CHIARO, Anton-Maria, 1929: *Revoluțiile Valahiei*, traducere de S. Chris-Cristian, introducere de Nicolae Iorga, Iași.

DOBRE Ion G., 1944: "Din relațiile comerciale ale Câmulungului cu Brașovul în sec. al XVI-lea", în *Observatorul social economic*, an. XI (Seria II), nr. 4–6, Brașov, p. 505–520.

DRH, B, I, 1966: *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, B. Țara Românească, vol I, (1247–1500), întocmit de Petre P. Panaitescu și Damaschin Mioc, București, Editura Academiei R.S.R.

DRH, D, I 1977: *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, D. Relații între Țările Române, vol. I (1222–1456), întocmit de Ștefan Pascu, Constantin Cihodaru, Konrad G. Gündisch, Damaschin Mioc, Viorica Pervain, București, Editura Academiei R. S. R.

HURDUBEȚIU I., Fl. Mârțu, 1968: "Câmpulungul-Muscel medieval", în *Studii și Articole de Istorie*, vol. XI, București, 1968, pp. 27–44

HURDUBEȚIU I., Fl. Mârțu, N. Nicolaescu, Gh. Pârnuță, I. Stănculescu, 1974: *Câmpulung Muscel, ieri și azi,* Câmpulung Muscel.

IORGA Nicolae, 1900: *Studii și documente privitoare la istoria românilor,* vol. I, București.

IORGA Nicolae, 1996: *Istoria românilor*, vol. IV: Cavalerii, București, Editura Enciclopedică.

IRIMIA Viorel, D. Rebedeu, I. Scarlat, Gh. Chița, I. Irimia, D. Brăgărea, V. Cordea, D. Lecca, K. Marei, 2004: *Câmpulung Muscel,* Editura Carminis, Câmpulung Muscel.

MANOLESCU Radu, 1957: "Schimbul de mărfuri dintre Țara Românească și Brașov în prima jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea", în *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, vol. II, București, p. 117–204.

MANOLESCU Radu, 2005(A), *Socotelile Brașovului. Registrele vigesimale*, vol. 1: 1497/98; 1529; 1530; 1542; 1543; 1545, ediție anastatică îngrijită de Ionel Cândea și Radu Ștefănescu, Editura Istros, Brăila.

MANOLESCU Radu, 2005(B): *Socotelile Brașovului. Registrele vigesimale*, vol. 2: 1546–1547*,* ediție anastatică îngrijită de Ionel Cândea și Radu Ștefănescu, Editura Istros, Brăila.

MANOLESCU Radu, 2007: *Socotelile Brașovului – Registrele vigesimale – pentru mărfuri orientale*, vol. 5*, 1542–1544, 1545–1548, 1549–1550, 1554,* ed. anastatică îngrijită de Ionel Cândea și Radu Ștefănescu, Editura Istros, Brăila.

MÂRȚU Flaminiu, 1980: "Cu privire la identificarea lui Neacșu, emitentul primei scrisori, cunoscute", în limba română, în *Studii și comunicări,* tom. V, Pitești, pp. 245–251.

MURGESCU Bogdan, 1999: *Istorie românească-istorie universală (600–1800),* ediție revăzută și adăugită, București, Editura Teora.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2002: "Noi aspecte referitoare la «zborul de la Sfântul Ilie» din Câmpulung Muscel (sec. XVII-XVIII)", în *Argesis. Studii și comunicări,* Seria Istorie, tom. XI, Pitești, p. 225–230.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2005: "Negustori și slujbași otomani la Câmpulung în secolele XVI-XVIII", în *Argesis. Studii și comunicări*, Seria Istorie, tom. XIV, Pitești, p. 363–367.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2008: "Considerații privind raporturile dintre comunitatea catolică și cea ortodoxă din Câmpulung Muscel în secolele XIII-XIV", în *Argesis. Studii și comunicări,* Seria Istorie, tom. XVII, Pitești, p. 81–90.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2009: "Negustori câmpulungeni din secolele XV-XVII, în volumul *Negustorimea în Țările Române, între* Societas Mercatorum și individualitatea mercantilă, în secolele XVI-XVIII, editat de Cristian Luca, Galați University Press, p. 63–88.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2009: *O scurtă istorie a românilor,* vol. II: Secolele XV-XVII, București, Editura Ars Docendi.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2009: "Considerații noi privitoare la bâlciul sau «sborul de la Sf. Ilie»", în Argesis. Studii și comunicări, Seria Istorie, tom. XVIII, p. 121–126.

NEAGOE Claudiu și **Cătălin Boboc**, 2007: "O istorie a peisajului urban câmpulungean (secolele XIV-XVIII)", *în Argesis. Studii și comu*nicări, Seria Istorie, Pitești, Editura Ordessos, p. 127–136.

OLTEANU Ștefan, 1962: "Producția meșteșugărească din Moldova și Țara Românească în sec. X-XVII", în *Studii. Revistă de istorie*, an. XV, nr. 4, p. 869–896.

OPRESCU Carmen, 2004: "Câmpulungul muscelean în epoca lui Ștefan cel Mare. Considerații asupra orașului până la începutul secolului al XVI-lea", în *Historia urbana*, nr. 1–2, pp. 9–23.

PAKUCS-WILLCOCKS Maria, 2009: "Negoț și negustori în comerțul oriental al Transilvaniei în secolul al XVI-lea. Câteva observații privind negustorii «greci»", în *Negustorimea în Țările Române, între* Societas Mercatorum *și individualitatea mercantilă, în secolele XVI-XVII,* volum editat de Cristian Luca, Galați University Press, p. 13–31.

PANAITESCU P. P., 1965: *Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română,* București, Editura Academiei R.S.R.

PÂRNUȚĂ, Gh, Ștefan Trâmbaciu, 1999(A): *Documente și inscripții privind istoria orașului Câmpulung Muscel,* vol. I, București, Editura Semne.

PÂRNUȚĂ, Gh, Ștefan Trâmbaciu, 1999(B): *Documente și inscripții privind istoria orașului Câmpulung Muscel,* vol. II (1700–1799), Editura Semne, București.

PONCEA Traian-Valentin, 1999: *Geneza orașului medieval românesc extracarpatic (secolele X-XIV),* București, Editura Biblioteca Bucureștilor.

PUȘCARIU Sextil, 1930: *Istoria literaturii române,* ediția a II-a, Sibiu.

Quellen 1880: *Quellen zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens aus S***ä***chsischen Archiven,* vol. I: *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Hermanstadt und der Sächsischen Nation,* von c. *1380–1516,* Hermannstadt.

Quellen 1886: *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen,* vol. I: *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt, 1503–1526,* Kronstadt.

Quellen 1889: *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen,* vol. II: *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt, 1526–1540,* Kronstadt.

Quellen 1896: *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen,* vol. III: *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt, (1475) 1541–1550 (1571),* Kronstadt.

Quellen 1909: *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Brassó. Chroniken und Tagebücher,* vol. V, *(1392–1851),* Brașov.

Quellen 1999: *Quellen zur Geschichte de Stadt Kronstadt – Documente privind istoria orașului Brașov,* vol. IX, *Documente de breaslă, 1420–1580,* ediție îngrijită de Gernot Nussbächer și Elisabeta Marin, Brașov, Editura Aldus.

RĂDVAN Laurențiu, 2004: *Orașele din Țara Românească până la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea,* Iași, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza".

SĂVOIU Adrian, 2009: *Câmpulungul pe hărțile lui Johannes Honterus și Sebastian Münster*, București, Editura Ars Docendi.

STOICESCU Nicolae, 1971: *Cum măsurau strămoșii. Metrologia medievală pe teritoriul României,* București, Editura Științifică.

TRÂMBACIU Ștefan, 1989: "Câteva date privitoare la «zborul de la Sfântul Ilie» din Câmpulung", în *Studii și comunicări*, vol. V, Câmpulung Muscel, p. 301–305.

TRÂMBACIU Ștefan, 1997: *Istoricul obștii câmpulungenilor musceleni în Evul Mediu și prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea,* București, Editura Semne.

TUDOR Sebastian, 1984: "Dezvoltarea meșteșugurilor din zona Muscelului în evul mediu (sec. XIV-XVIII)", în *Studii și comunicări*, vol. III, Câmpulung Muscel, p. 49–55.

VERGATTI Radu Ștefan, 2002: *Evoluție și involuție în istoria marilor orașe argeșene în secolul al XVII-lea,* în *Argesis. Studii și comunicări*, Seria Istorie, tom. XI, p. 219–223.

About a Great Wallachian Merchant from the First Half of the 16th Century: Neacşu of Câmpulung

Claudiu-Ion Neagoe
("Gheorghe I. Brătianu" Centre for Historical, Archaeological and Heritage Research, University of Pitești)

From 1900 onwards, Neacşu of Câmpulung has generally been known as the author of the first document written in Romanian in the Cyrillic alphabet (Panaitescu 1965, 117).

Following the assumptions of Flaminiu Mârțu, Master Neacşu of Câmpulung (*Neacşul ot Dlăgopole*) would have lived between the 1480s (?) and 1545 (Mârțu, 1972, 13–14; Mârțu, 1980, 246; Pârnuță and Mârțu, 1974, 5). If we start from the premise that in 1521, when Neacşu wrote to Joannes (Hans) Benkner, he was an adult and around 40 years old, then we can admit that he had been born around 1480. However, there is no certainty in this regard. As for the alleged year of Neacşu's death, respectively 1545, we have serious reservations. One of the most important Romanian medievalists of the last century, Radu Manolescu, found Neacşu of Câmpulung mentioned in the 1546 Brașov Customs Registers (Manolescu 2005, 3, 5, 29, 99, 190 and 199; Manolescu 2007, 156) and 1547 (Manolescu, 2005, 264, 317, 354; Manolescu, 2007, 175). Based on this information, we can therefore state that Master Neacşu "passed into eternity" after 1547.

* * *

According to Flaminiu Mârțu, Neacşu's last name would have been Lupa (Mârțu, 1980, 245). It should be noted, however, that the first to mention the "full name" of "Neacşu Lupa" was Nicolae Iorga (Iorga, 1905, 282). But we do not know exactly where our great historian found this second name of "Lupa". Unfortunately, there is no document to prove it. As far as we are concerned, we

can only state that "Neacşu" was the baptismal name, while "Lupa", if it really existed, was a nickname (*cognomen*).

From the letter sent to Hans (Johannes) Benkner of Brașov, at the end of June 1521, we find out the name of Master Neacşu of Câmpulung's son-in-law, namely Negre (*DRH*, B, II, 1972, 402–403, no. 209). Therefore, we can state without doubt that Neacşu had a daughter, whose name, unfortunately, is not known to us. Then, from a letter dated in 1521 by some historians (Tocilescu, 1931, 455–456, no. 455), and between 1542–1545 by others (Bogdan, 1902, 309–310, no. CLXXXVI) addressed to the mayor (*jude*) and to the city councillors (*pârgari*) of Brașov by another Câmpulung resident, Stoica Hurduzău, we find out about Neacşu of Câmpulung's "sons" (there were at least two, in our opinion), but their names are not mentioned (Tocilescu, 1931, 455–456, no. 455). The documents investigated so far have not provided us with additional information about Neacşu's children, and we know absolutely nothing about his wife.

* * *

Most historians who wrote about Neacşu (Răuțescu, 1943, 11; Panaitescu, 1965, 117; Cazacu, 1968, 525; Pârnuță, 1974, 6; Mârțu, 1980, 246–247; Oprea, 2001, 76; Neagoe, 2012, 87–88, 137) claimed that he was an upstanding citizen, an important member of the urban patrician in Câmpulung (Rădvan, 2003, 58). The numerous mentions about Neacşu in the Brașov "vigesimal registers" prove this as clearly as possible.

Today it is well-known that the one who discovered Neacşu's *Letter* in the Brașov City Archive, but did not manage to publish it, was the archivist Friedrich Wilhelm Stenner (1851–1924), the one who organized this institution on a modern basis between the years 1878–1903 (Nussbächer, 1978, 204–205; Oprea, 2011, 74). The first to publish it was Nicolae Iorga, in 1900. Nonetheless, quite inexplicably, at that point in time Nicolae Iorga spoke about "the boyar Neacşu of Câmpulung" (Hurmuzaki, 1900, 843, n. 1). Later, in the second half of the 20th century, Gheorghe Pârnuță and Flaminiu Mârțu questioned this statement, stating that, in the 16th century, the boyars had not managed to integrate into the urban community of Câmpulung (Pârnuță and Mârțu, 1974, 6). It is well-known that, at least until the first decades of the 17th century, the rulers of Wallachia forbade the boyars to buy property in the city or in its estate (Hurdubețiu and Mârțu, 1968, 34–65). In fact, some documents contained in *Pânza* or *Ocolnica* of Câmpulung demonstrate this fact as clearly as possible. For example, in this regard, Radu Mihnea, ruler of Wallachia, ordered on May 7, 1615 "that no boyar or servant of my lordship be

willing to ask my lord for at least a place or at least a town estate or house or a place in the city, or a plot inherited in the field, or at least an urban vineyard, at least whatever it may be, but only the townspeople should be willing to do what they want with these estates" (Trâmbaciu and Pârnuță, [1997], 72–73, no. 2). In the 1503 Brașov *vigesimal register*, Neacşu of Câmpulung (*Nagzul de Compolong*) was among those "great merchants" (*mercatores magni*) who came from Wallachia in order to perform his trade business (*Quellen*, 1886, I, 58). Until 1547, he remained an extremely active merchant on the Brașov market, where he brought significant quantities of Turkish fish and goods from the cities of the Danube (Răuțescu, 1943, 11), particularly from Nicopolis (Neagoe, 2009, 73, n. 57), as we believe.

The 1503 and, respectively, 1542 Braşov customs registers reveal that the merchants from Wallachia (Neacşu of Câmpulung being one of them) brought to Brașov significant quantities of salted fish (carp, pike, pikeperch, cod, catfish, mackerel), but also of cod, carp and pike roe (Manolescu, 1957, 126–127 and 131), significant quantities of honey and wax (Manolescu, 1957, 120 and 134), then beef and wool hides, bacon, tallow, wines, cereals and oriental products, especially spices (Dumitraşcu and Maximescu 2002, 58), bought from Greco-Levantine and Turkish merchants in the Danube cities (Manolescu, 1957, 120; Neagoe 2012, 137). Likewise, the Saxon or Wallachian merchants brought to Wallachia numerous and varied Western products, such as cloth, Ypres, Leuven, Buges, Cologne, Bergamo and Verona velvet, from the Czech Republic and Poland, but also local products from Brașov, such as iron, brass, agricultural tools, knives, cloths, ordinary cloth, cloaks, hats, stockings and other "trifles" (*parvalia*) (Manolescu, 1957, 120, 155 and 165).

For the goods brought to Brașov, the Wallachian merchants paid the customs tax or the "vigesima" in money or in products, respectively the 20th part of their value (Dumitraşcu şi Maximescu, 2002, 59–60).

Internal documents also attest to Neacşu of Câmpulung being in close ties and even associated with other merchants from Wallachia, especially from Târgovişte: Sava or Savu, mentioned on December 21, 1531 (Bogdan, 1902, 142, no. CXLV; Tocilescu 1931, 318, no. 321), Stoica, mentioned on March 13, 1532 (Tocilescu, 1931, 329, no. 330) and Hristodor, attested between 1531 and 1532 (Tocilescu, 1931, 450, no. 449).

* * *

The most important aspect that should be permanently clarified, in our opinion, is the one related to the presumed quality of "mayor" of the city of Câmpulung that Neacşu would have held in 1521. In what follows, we shall try

to analyse very closely the documents of the epoch Neacşu lived in, so as to be able to shed light on this matter. It is well-known that when the great historian Nicolae Iorga published Neacşu's famous 1521 "letter" for the first time, he did not specify anything about his holding the administrative position of "jude" or "judeţ"[1] (Slav.: *sudeț*) of the city of Câmpulung (Hurmuzaki, 1900, 843, n. 1). Those who republished the 1521 document, after Nicolae Iorga, respectively Ioan Bogdan (1902), Stoica Nicolaescu (1905) and Grigore G. Tocilescu (1931) did not specify anything related to the fact that Neacşu would have held the position of mayor of Câmpulung. The same can be stated in relation to the editors of vol. II *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, respectively Ştefan Ştefănescu and Olimpia Diaconescu (1972).

However, in the most natural way possible, we ask ourselves the question: who was the one who, for the first time, found it appropriate to consider Neacşu as the "first mayor" of the city of Câmpulung? Apparently, this is Dumitru I. Băjan (1871–1957), a well-known specialist in the field of Romanian-Cyrillic archiving and palaeography from the first half of the 20th century (Băjan, 1929, 55).

What seems most interesting to us is the fact that all the Argeș and Muscel historians from the last century took over and enforced this opinion, but most of them without arguments and, of course, without evidence. We mention here the most important: the priest Ioan Răuțescu (1892–1974), the philologist and pedagogue Gheorghe Pârnuță (1915–2009), the university professor Ştefan Trâmbaciu (1942–2015). Among the local historians, the only one who tried to clearly argue that Neacşu exercised the function of *mayor* of Câmpulung was Flaminiu Mârțu (1913–1990). Analysing the text of the 1521 letter, addressed to Johannes Benkner of Brașov, Flaminiu Mârțu assumed that Neacşu would have at that time the quality of "mayor" of the urban community of Câmpulung, as Johannes (Hans) Benkner would have held, at that same moment in time, the position of "mayor" of Brașov (Mârțu, 1980, 248; Oprea, 2011, 76). The way in which the letter from 1521 was drafted represents, in Flaminiu Mârțu's opinion, sufficient "evidence" that clearly proves that Neacşu was Hans Benkner's counterpart. Starting from the addressing formula, used by Neacşu towards Hans Benkner, respectively "And again I tell Your Highness, as you are my Lord", Flaminiu Mârțu issued the hypothesis, unfounded in our opinion, according to which the Câmpulung mayors gave their Brașov colleagues a precedence based on prestige" (Mârțu, 1980, 248). It is hard to believe that the mayors of Câmpulung showed, at that time, any "inferiority

[1] Translator's note: The English correspondent of this administrative position would be that of "mayor".

complex" to the mayors of Braşov. Let us remember, however, that some of the rulers of Wallachia, such as Basarab cel Tânăr Țepeluş (1477–1481), Vlad Călugărul (1482–1495), Radu cel Mare (1495–1508) and Neagoe Basarab (1512–1521) did not hesitate to defend and protect, at times, the interests of local merchants (Bogdan, 1902, 152, no. CLIII; Bogdan, 1905, I, 176–177, no. CXLV, 193–195, no. CLIX, 225–227, no. CLXXXVIII) to the detriment of those of Braşov (Giurescu, 1973, 179–180; Neagoe, 2015, 125).

On a careful reading of the letter of 1521, it can be seen, as clearly as possible, that Neacşu did not use the appellation "mayor", not even for Hans Benkner and even less for himself. If we were to "accept" the idea that in 1521 Neacşu was indeed "mayor of Câmpulung", then he would have prevailed, without any restraint, in his letter, of this significant position.

Challenging the opinion unanimously accepted by historians of the last century, according to which Neacşu would have been the first "mayor" ("jude" or "județ" – *judex, sudeț, richter*) of the city of Câmpulung, Alexandru Ciocîltan, scientific researcher at the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History in Bucharest, emphasized, relatively recently, that the first and only mayor mentioned in the 16th-century documents was Vlaicu (June 14, 1545) (Ciocîltan, 2015, 113). However, more than a decade before him, the Iaşi historian Laurențiu Rădvan revealed that the first mention of the existence of a Câmpulung "mayor" (*richter*), without knowing its name, is to be found in a document dated February 11, 1524 (Rădvan, 2004, 118). It is a letter in German, issued by the Câmpulung mayor and city councillors (*Richter wnd Purger der Langer Aw*) (Hurmuzaki, 1911, XV, 277, no. DIII), which was translated by Nicolae Iorga into Romanian (Iorga, 1925, 7, nr. VII).

And yet, when exactly is the first mayor of Câmpulung mentioned in documents? From Silviu Dragomir and Emil Vîrtosu we find out that the Câmpulung mayor and city councillors were mentioned at around 1500, but without being nominated, in a letter addressed by them to the leaders of Sibiu (Dragomir, 1927, 75–76, nr. 67; Vîrtosu, 1956, 482). According to Silviu Dragomir, the seal of the city of Câmpulung had been applied to this letter, but, unfortunately, it was torn and impossible to reconstruct (Dragomir, 1927, 75–76, no. 67).

If we have serious reservations regarding Neacşu's quality of "mayor", today we can state with certainty that he was a "man of the reign" or, in other words, "in the service of the reign", at least in the time of Vlad Înecatul (1530–1532) (Tocilescu, 1931, 318, no. 321).

* * *

Master Neacşu was, without a doubt, a good connoisseur of the political realities of the first decades of the 16th century. This is amply proved by his letter from the summer of 1521, addressed to Joannes (Hans) Benkner, an important representative of the Saxon elite from Braşov, probably the mayor of the city at that time. We will refer to this extremely important document in what follows.

As we have pointed out on another occasion, the *letter of Neacşu* of Câmpulung represents not only an important document for the reconstruction of the history of Wallachia from the third decade of the 16th century, but also a relevant testimony for the reconstruction of the cultural life of that time (Neagoe, 2012, 140).

The first to establish, at the beginning of the 20th century, the year when the letter of Neacşu of Câmpulung was written, respectively 1521, was our great historian Nicolae Iorga (Hurmuzaki, 1900, 843, n. 1). In the second half of the same century, Matei Cazacu established the day and month when this particular document was issued: between June 29–30 (Cazacu, 1968, 527), two months before the Ottoman conquest of Belgrade.

Shortly after ascending the throne of the Ottoman Empire in the fall of 1520, Sultan Süleyman resumed his policy of expansion into central Europe. Taking advantage of the fact that Europe was divided as a result of the various rivalries and especially of the battles between the great rulers of the time, namely the Roman-German emperor, Charles V, and the king of France, Francis I of Valois (Bernstein and Milza, 1998, III, 161), Sultan Süleyman decided to go against the city of Belgrade, considered by the Ottomans for a long time as the "gate" to the heart of Europe (Inalcik, 1996, 81).

It is well-known that in the past some sultans had tried to take control of this fortress, which prevented Ottoman troops from advancing on Buda and Vienna. The first to try to conquer it was Murad II in 1440 (Mantran, 2001, 65), and later Mehmed II in 1456 (Mantran, 2001, 80), but none of them was successful in his attempts.

On May 18, 1521, Sultan Süleyman left the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, with a large army of about 80,000 soldiers, although some sources of the time even spoke of 250,000 soldiers (Ciachir, 1972, 68–71). Corroborating the information provided by Neacşu of Câmpulung's letter with the data identified in some Ottoman documents or chronicles, we can reconstruct, to some extent, the events that took place in the summer of 1521.

First of all, we must note that this prominent resident of Câmpulung was a good connoisseur of the political and military realities of that time. In the letter of June 29–30, 1521, Neacşu sent precious news to Hanăş Begner (Johannes Benkner), probably mayor of Braşov at the time (Hurmuzaki, 1900, 843, n. 1),

about the military expedition initiated by the Ottoman sultan against Belgrade (*DRH*, B, 1972, II, 402, no. 209).

Ioannes (Hans) Benkner was therefore informed that the sultan had just left Sofia with his entire army, sailing "up the Danube." Neacşu had just learnt this information from a merchant who came from Nicopolis to Câmpulung (DRH, B, 1972, II, 402, no. 209). As it took at least 4 days for this merchant to cross Wallachia on horseback from the Danube to Câmpulung (*Călători străini*, 1971, III, 672), we can state that the sultan left Sofia around June 25, 1521.

This "man from Nicopolis" had been an eyewitness to the sailing of the Turkish boats "up the Danube". To manoeuvre these boats, the Turks had recruited 50 people, as oarsmen, from all the cities along the Danube. Then, in Neacşu's letter, mention is made about the steering of the Turkish ships "through that narrow place" (today Porțile de Fier), also known by the rulers of Braşov.

Neacşu informed Johannes Benkner of the actions taken, not long before, by Mehmed bey, the governor (*sancâkbeyi*) of the province of Nicopolis (Neagoe, 2004, 26–27), who had probably received an order from the sultan, as to prevent possible Hungarian attacks, from Banat and Transylvania, on the Ottoman army heading for Belgrade.

The information about the actions of Mehmed bey, which apparently worried the ruler of Wallachia, Neagoe Basarab, had been received by Neacşu from some Romanian boyars who had their estates near the Danube and were also confirmed by Negre (Negrea, Negru), Neacşu's son in law (*DRH*, B, 1972, II, 403, nr. 209).

To better understand the sequence of events of that time, we must call on two other historical sources: the chronicle of Ibrahim Pecevi and the memoir (*arzumahzar*) addressed by Mehmed bey to the Grand Vizier, most likely in mid-June 1521. From Pecevi's chronicle (*Tarih-i Pecevi*) we learn that Mehmed bey, at the head of an Ottoman light cavalry troop (*akinci*), had passed through Wallachia in order to loot and plunder the lands in southern Transylvania and later those in the vicinity of Timişoara (*Cronici turceşti*, 1966, I, 472). On the other hand, once he arrived in Wallachia, Mehmed bey would communicate to the Grand Vizier Piri Mehmed Pasha about the meeting he had with the ruler of this country, Neagoe Basarab. Although the latter was ready to fulfil his military obligations to the Ottomans, he complained to Mehmed Bey that he was "in suffering" and that his son Theodosius was too young to take part in the Ottoman expedition led by Mehmed bey in Transylvania. According to some opinions, Neagoe Basarab suffered from and died of tuberculosis (Vătămanu, 1972, 72–73).

The ruler appointed at the head of a troupe of Romanian soldiers two of his important captains: the vornic (*palatinus*) and the treasurer (*thesaurarius*)

(*Documente turceşti*, 1976, I, 13, no. 12). At that time, the office of Grand Vornic was held by Udrea from Boldeşti (*Lista dregătorilor*, 1960, 567), and that of great treasurer was fulfilled by Dumitru from Văcăreşti (*Lista dregătorilor*, 1960, 573). Regarding the assembly of the entire army of Wallachia, Neagoe Basarab asked Mehmed bey for a period of at least 20 days (*Documente turceşti*, 1976, I, 13, no. 12). In our opinion, Neagoe Basarab intended only to stall, so that he would not have to participate with the Ottomans in the expedition against Belgrade (Neagoe, 2012, 143).

Eventually, Sultan Süleyman arrived with his army under the walls of Belgrade. After more than a month of siege, during which the Ottomans dug underground canals and fired continuously on the fortress, the sultan conquered Belgrade on August 29, 1521 (Inalcik, 1996, 81), giving a strong blow to the Hungarian kingdom (Gemil, 1991, 168). Undoubtedly, the victory of the Ottomans was favoured by the non-involvement of the noble troops led by Stefan Báthory, who was in the fortress of Petrovaradin, as well as of the troops of the Transylvanian voivode, Ioan Zápolya, who had his camp at Lipova, in Banat (Căzan and Denize, 2001, 224).

Bibliographical references

BĂJAN Dumitru I., 1929: *Documente de la Arhivele statului*, vol. I (1586–1840), București.

BERSTEIN Serge, Milza Pierre, 1998: *Istoria Europei*, vol. III, *State și identități europene. Secolul XIV–1815*, Iași.

BOGDAN Ioan, 1902: *Documente și regeste privitoare la relațiile Țării Românești cu Brașovul și Ungaria în secolul XV și XVI*, București.

BOGDAN Ioan, 1905: *Documente privitoare la Relațiile Țării Românești cu Brașovul și cu Țara Ungurească în sec. XV și XVI*, vol. I: 1413–1508, București.

CAZACU Matei, 1968: "Sur la date de la lettre de Neacșu de Câmpulung (1521)", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, VI, 1968, nr. 3, 525–528.

Călători străini, 1971: *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. III, îngrijit de Maria Holban (redactor responsabil), M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu, București.

CĂZAN Ileana, Denize Eugen, 2001: *Marile puteri și spațiul românesc în secolele XV-XVI*, București, Editura Universității din București.

CIOCÎLTAN Alexandru, 2015: *Comunitățile germane de la sud de Carpați în Evul Mediu (secolele XIII-XVIII)*, Brăila, Editura Istros.

Cronici turcești, 1966: *Cronici turcești privind Țările Române. Extrase*, vol. I, ediție de Mihail Guboglu și Mustafa Mehmed, București, Editura Academiei R. S. R.

Documente turcești, 1976: *Documente turcești privind istoria României*, vol. I (1455–1774), întocmit de Mustafa A. Mehmed, București, Editura Academiei R. S. R.

DRH, B, 1972: *Documenta Romaniae Historica,* B. Țara Românească, vol. II (1501–1525), volum îngrijit de Ștefan Ștefănescu și Olimpia Diaconescu, București, Editura Academiei R. S. R.

DRAGOMIR Silviu, 1927: *Documente nouă privitoare la relațiile Țării Românești cu Sibiu în secolii XV și XVI,* București.

DUMITRAȘCU Ion, Maximescu Mariana, 2002: *O istorie a Brașovului,* Brașov, Editura Phoenix.

GEMIL Tahsin, 1991: *Românii și otomanii în secolele XIV-XVI,* București, Editura Academiei Române.

GIURESCU Dinu C., 1973: Țara Românească în secolele XIV-XV, București, Editura Științifică.

HURDUBEȚIU Ion, Flaminiu Mârțu, 1968: "Câmpulungul-Muscel medieval", în *Studii și Articole de Istorie,* vol. XI, București, p. 27–44.

HURMUZAKI Eudoxiu de, 1900: *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor,* vol. XI: 1517–1612, documente adunate, adnotate și publicate de N. Iorga, București.

HURMUZAKI Eudoxiu de, 1911: *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor,* vol. XV: *Acte și scrisori din arhivele orașelor ardelene (Bistrița, Brașov, Sibiu),* publicate de N. Iorga, Partea I: 1358–1600, București.

INALCIK Halil, 1996: *Imperiul otoman. Epoca clasică, 1300–1600,* ediție de Mihai Maxim, traducere de Dan Prodan, București, Editura Enciclopedică.

IORGA Nicolae, 1905: *Brașovul și românii. Scrisori și lămuriri,* București.

IORGA Nicolae, 1925: *Scrisori de negustori,* București.

Lista dregătorilor, 1960: "Lista marilor dregători din Sfatul domnesc al Țării Românești în secolele XV-XVII", întocmită de D. Mioc (responsabil), C. Bălan, M. Bălan, H. Chircă, N. Stoicescu și Șt. Ștefănescu, în *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie,* vol. IV, București, p. 565–583.

MÂRȚU Flaminiu, 1972: "Identitatea lui Neacșu", în *Argeș,* VII, nr. 12, p. 13–14.

MÂRȚU Flaminiu, 1980: "Cu privire la identificarea lui Neacșu, emitentul primei scrisori cunoscute în limba română", în *Studii și comunicări,* vol. V, p. 245–251.

MANOLESCU Radu, 1957: "Schimbul de mărfuri dintre Țara Românească și Brașov în prima jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea", în *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie,* vol. II, București, p. 117–204.

MANOLESCU Radu, 2005: *Socotelile Brașovului. Registrele vigesimale,* vol. 2, 1546–1547, ediție anastatică îngrijită de Ionel Cândea și Radu Ștefănescu, Brăila, Editura Istros.

MANOLESCU Radu, 2007: *Socotelile Brașovului. Registrele vigesimale pentru mărfuri orientale,* vol. 5, 1542–1544, 1545–1548, 1549–1550, 1554, ediție anastatică îngrijită de Ionel Cândea și Radu Ștefănescu, Brăila, Editura Istros.

MANTRAN Robert (coord.), 2001: *Istoria Imperiului Otoman,* trad. Cristina Bârsan, București, Editura All.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2004: "Prima încercare de Transformare în pașalâc a Țării Românești: episodul Mehmed Bey (1522)", în *Danubius,* XXII, Galați, p. 26–27.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2009: "Negustori câmpulungeni din secolele XV-XVII", în volumul *Negustorimea în Țările Române, între* Societas Mercatorum *și individualitatea mercantilă, în secolele XVI-XVIII*, editat de Cristian Luca, Galați, Galați University Press, p. 63–88.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2012: *Câmpulungul medieval și premodern*, București, Editura Ars Docendi.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2015: *O scurtă istorie a românilor*, vol. II: *Secolele XV-XVII*, București, Editura Ars Docendi.

NUSSBÄCHER Gernot, 1978: "Prețuitori ai arhivelor. Friedrich Stenner", în *Revista Arhivelor*, an. LV, vol. XL, nr. 2, p. 204–205.

PANAITESCU Petre P., 1965: Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română, București, Editura Academiei R. P. R.

PÂNUȚĂ Gheorghe, 1974: *Câmpulung-Muscel, străveche vatră de cultură a Țării Românești*, Câmpulung-Muscel.

PÂRNUȚĂ Gheorghe, Mârțu Flaminiu, 1974: *Oameni de seamă dăruiți țării de Orașul Câmpulung-Muscel*, Câmpulung-Muscel.

Quellen 1886: *Quellen zur Geschihte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen*, vol. I: *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt, 1503–1526*, Kronstadt-Brassó.

RĂDVAN Laurențiu, 2003: "Cu privire la patriciatul și «săracii» din orașul medieval din Țara Românească (secolele XIV-XVI)", în *Historia Urbana*, tom. XI, nr. 1–2, p. 49–71.

RĂDVAN Laurențiu, 2004: *Orașele din Țara Românească până la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea*, Iași, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza".

RĂUȚESCU Ioan, 1943: *Câmpulung-Muscel. Monografie istorică*, Câmpulung, Tipografia Gh. Gh. Vlădescu.

TOCILESCU Grigore G., 1931: *534 de documente istorice slavo-române din Țara Românească și Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul, 1346–1603*, București.

TRÂMBACIU Ștefan, Pârnuță Gheorghe, [1997]: *Pânza (Ocolnica) cu privilegii ale orașului Câmpulung Muscel, 1215–1747*, Pitești, Editura Cultura.

TRÂMBACIU Ștefan, 1998: *Câmpulungul medieval în cincizeci de documente, 1368–1800*, București, Editura Semne.

VĂTĂMANU Nicolae, 1972: *Voievozi și medici de curte*, București, Editura Enciclopedică Română.

VÎRTOSU Emil, 1956: "Din sigilografia Moldovei și a Țării Românești", în *Documente privind istoria României*, vol. II: *Introducere*, București, Editura Academiei R. P. R., p. 333–560.

The Letter of Neacşu of Câmpulung. A Hectic History

Bogdan-Florin Popovici
(National Archives of Romania, Braşov County Service)

Any attempt to bring some relevant additional information about the letter sent by Neacşu of Câmpulung to the mayor of Braşov represents an extremely risky one. As a language monument, *the Letter* ... has already achieved public notoriety, being included in school textbooks. It has been edited and published, in terms of text and image, countless times; the language used was analysed in detail by specialists; its significance is unanimously recognized[1].

Neacşu the merchant is a historical figure who reached a celebrity that his ordinary life would not have guessed, and Hans Benkner is probably the most famous Braşov mayor in Romanian literature.

Therefore, the present study does not intend to bring new developments about the document itself. Instead, it aims to review an interesting and contextualized history of a document, which reveals the changing nature of values over time.

The text will be structured in 5 sections, unequal in length, but which, in our opinion, mark the sequences to be spotted in the understanding of the document and of its history.

I. The Letter

I.1.Object. The document sent to the mayor of Braşov is preserved by the National Archives, Braşov County Service, in the fund of Braşov City Hall, the Slavic-Romanian Stenner collection, under number 472 (unique computer code: BV-F-00001-4-1-472).

The text is written on hard copy (piece of paper), watermark-free, measuring 20.8 × 15.4 (left) and, respectively, 15.9 cm (right), with irregular edges. The piece of paper was initially folded, with visible traces of 2 horizontal folds

(approximately 2 cm from the top edge, respectively 8 cm from the bottom edge) and two vertical folds (about 6 cm from the left edge, respectively about 7 cm from the right edge), resulting in 9 sectors, arranged by threes on 3 levels. These folds resulted in a folded letter format of 8.1 × 7.3 cm. Symmetrical to the horizontal folding centreline, 1 cm apart from each other on the first vertical folding line (counting from the left) there are two spots of a diameter of 0.6 cm. A third spot on the front of the document was caused by the substances permeated from the closing seal on the back. In the 4 corners of the paper there are perforations, most likely resulting from the piercing of the document to be exposed (bolts or pins). Also, on the lower side there are two ruptures, 1.2 cm deep, at a distance of 11 and, respectively, 4.1 cm away from the left edge.

At the bottom right the number of the document in the collection ("472") is written in pencil; the note therefore dates, at the earliest, from 1894[2]. On the lower edge as well, 8 cm from the right edge, there is a pencil-written indication of the document language (in handwriting which, most probably, belongs to Fr. Stenner): "Rum [änisch]". In the lower left, extremely shaded[3], there is an oval stamp of property, probably applied between 1935–1950 ("Property of the Braşov Archives").

On the reverse side, in the lower central sector, close to the median line of horizontal folding, there is the address, in Slavonic. Under the address there was a seal applied "of yellow" or white "wax", which today has fallen (it was so in 1900) (Iorga, 1900, 843, n. 1; Bogdan, 1905, XXXIV, n. 1); the trace of the seal, circular, measures 1.7 cm in diameter.

At the top, from left to right, a property stamp is applied to each sector resulting from the folding. The first on the left, in German with Latin characters, in blue ink ("MAGISTRATSArchiv/DER STADT KRONSTADT") is similar to other documents and was most likely applied by Friedrich Stenner whilst processing the archive (by 1894). The size of the stamp is of 5.3 × 1.6 cm. The other two stamps are similar to the one on the front (oval, with the text "Property of the BRAŞOV Archives, size 2.4 × 1.4 cm). Under the first and second stamp there is a pencil mark ("XII"), crossed.

At the bottom, in quadrants 7 and 9, there are 4 stamps. On the left, one below the other, the oval stamp of property. In sector 9, in the upper part, a proprietary oval stamp is applied, and below a larger dimension stamp (3.6 × 3 cm), completed with ink (in the exergue: "Documents of the Braşov Archives"; in the centre: "No. 472/ Fund: Ab I bb^{IV} / Year 1521 II / From: Neacşul of C-lung"). This stamp seems to have been applied between 1935–1950 as well. The stamps applied in the interwar period would use purple ink.

The main text is written in Romanian, with inserts of Slavonic words, in

cursive Cyrillic characters (Panaitescu, 1965, 117). The address in the protocol is written in Slavonic, as is the compliment formula in the eschatocol[4].

The document does not present an elaborate diplomatic form, which indicates the lack of any solemn character and, implicitly, a familiarity between the issuer and the recipient. It also reveals the use of documents written in Romanian to transmit/preserve information, in the banality of daily activities, the writing not being reserved for official activities. It is also an indication that either the mayor knew the Romanian language, or there was an interpreter at the level of the city's administrative apparatus.

The document is generally considered original[5], despite the lack of explicit validation signs. As far as we know, no special analyses of the support or writing have been performed, but the continuity of preservation (which we will return to below) does not provide indications of a possible intention to alter the document.

Furthermore, the document is not dated. Based on the historical context (which we will return to below), Nicolae Iorga dated it to 1521 (Iorga, 1900, 843, n. 1). Later, Matei Cazacu (Cazacu, 1968, 525–528), confirmed in the analysis by the Braşov archivist Gernot Nussbächer (Nussbächer, 1986, 74–80), narrowed the time interval, dating the drafting of the document between June 29–30, 1521.

I.2. Information. Although a letter from a merchant, the text of the document has nothing "commercial", but is essentially a piece of military-strategic information:

> "*Mudromu I plemenitomu, I cistitomu I bogom darovanomu jupan Hanăș Bengner ot Brașov mnogo zdravie ot Nécșu ot Dlăgopole*[6]. *I pak*[7] *dau știre domnie tale za*[8] *lucrul turcilor, cum am auzit eu că împăratul au eșit den Sofiia, și aimintrea nu e, și se-au dus în sus pre Dunăre. I pak să știi domniia ta că au venit un om de la Nicopole de miie me-au spus că au văzut cu ochii lor că au trecut ciale corăbii ce știi și domniia ta pre Dunăre în sus. I pak să știi că bagă den toate orașele câte 50 de omin să fie de ajutor în corăbii. I pak să știi cumu se-au prins nește meșter[i] den Țarigrad cum vor treace ceale corăbii la locul cela strimtul ce știi și domniia ta. I pak spui domniie tale de lucrul lui Mahamet beg, cum am auzit de boiari ce sunt megiiaș(i) și de generemiiu Negre, cum i-au dat împăratul sloboziie lui Mahamet beg, pe io-i va fi voia, pren Țeara Rumânească, iară el să treacă. I pak să știi domniia ta că are frică mare și Băsărab de acel lotru de Mahamet beg, mai vârtos de domniile voastre. I pak spui domniietale ca mai marele miu, de ce am înțeles și eu. Eu spui domniietale iară domniiata ești înțelept și aceste cuvinte să ții domniiata la tine, să nu știe umin mulți, și domniile vostre să vă păziți cum știți mai bine. I bog te veselit*[9]. *Amin.*" (Iorga, 1900. 843, n. 1)
>
> (English version*: To the most wise and venerable and by God endowed master*

Hanas Bengner of Brașov, much health to thee wisheth Neacșu of Câmpulung. I pak (=and again) I let thy highness know za (= of) the deed of the Turks, as I heard that the Emperor hath left Sofia and hath sailed up the Danube, and the truth is no other, but this. I pak (=and again) thy highness shouldst know that a man from Nicopole came to me and told me he hath seen with his own eyes how those ships that thy highness knowest as well hath sailed up the Danube. I pak thou shouldst know that they take fifty men from each town to help on those ships. I pak thou shouldst know how few sailor(s) from Tzarigrad (= Constantinople) bound themselves to steer those ships through that narrow place, that thou knowest as well. I pak I tell thy highness of the work of Mahamet beg as I heard from the boyars that art nighbour(s) and from my son-in-law Negre, how the Emperor hath allowed Mahamet beg cross Wallachia wherever he wouldth want to. I pak thy highness shouldst know that Basarab is greatly fearful of that thief Mahamet beg, more than thy highness art. I pak I tell thy highness as thou art my Lord of what had I also understood. I tell thy highness these and thy highness art wise and these words thou shouldst keep for thyself and not let many people know them and thy highness bewarest as thou best knowest. I bog te veselit. Amin" (= And may God giveth thee grace. Amen)).

On the back, the address:

"*Înțeleptului și cinstitului și de Dumnezeu dăruitului, jupânului Hanăș Begner din Brașov*" (Tocilescu, 1931, 458)
(English version: *To the most wise and venerable and by God endowed master Hanas Benger of Brașov*).

I.3. Issuing Context and Impact. The historians who focused on the letter identified the context in which it was written and transmitted. After the death of Sultan Selim (September 28, 1520), Hungary refused to pay the new Sultan Suleiman an annual tribute for peacekeeping. As a result, in the spring of 1521 Suleiman II launched a campaign against Hungary. On June 22, 1521, the sultan and his army set out from Sofia, while an army corps, including the one led by Muhammad Bey, was planned to attack Hungary through Transylvania, crossing Wallachia. Although Neagoe Basarab, the ruler of Wallachia, had a treaty with Hungary since 1517 (Nüssbacher, 1986, 76) and on June 28 in Buda it was still hoped that 8,000 men from the Wallachian army would join the Hungarian army against the Turks, after a day these hopes were already refuted, for it had been found that the ruler's army had joined the Turks (Cazacu, 1968, 527). As Neacşu anticipated in the letter, the fear of the Turks was greater. However, the bulk of the Ottoman troops under the sultan moved south and conquered Belgrade on August 29, 1521 (Nüssbacher, 1986, 76), paving the way for the defeat of the Hungarian army at Mohács (1526), which would mark the end of the Hungarian kingdom.

Deepening the research from the period when the letter was sent from a Braşov-related perspective, Gernot Nussbächer discovered in the city accounts the payment of a significantly higher number of couriers and spies in Wallachia, in May-July 1521 (Quellen, 1886, 1, 337–345). The letter was therefore in line with the efforts of the local administration to learn about the military situation south of the Carpathians. Also, starting in July, a series of measures are taken: "*convening the meeting of Țara Bârsei to establish the defence plan on July 12, sending an informing note to the vice-voivode of Transylvania, sending spies to Wallachia, transporting riflemen to Bran, guarding the mountains by the inhabitants of Baciu at Pasul Timiş*" (Nüssbacher, 1986, 76; Quellen, 1886, 1, 345–347). Johann Benkner himself, the mayor of Braşov, together with Senator Johann Beer, went to the court of the voivode Neagoe Basarab (Quellen, 1886, 1, 347–348), and Gernot Nussbächer appreciates that a consequence of this delegation was the fact that Braşov was bypassed by Turkish incursions in the summer of 1521 (Nüssbacher, 1986, 76).

I.4. Main characters

The author of the letter was first identified by Nicolae Iorga as "the boyar Neacşu of Câmpulung" (Iorga, 1900, 843, n. 1). Without indicating a reference and without being confirmed by further research, the nickname "boyar" was probably an enthusiastic presentation. Matei Cazacu characterizes him as a "well-known merchant at the time, having active trade relations with Braşov" (Cazacu, 1968, 525). Indeed, the customs and castellan registers of Bran mention him several times, over a period of more than 30 years, between 1503 and (probably) 1534 (Quellen, 1886, 1, 1, 7, 9, 15, 21, 24, 58–59; Quellen, 1889, 2, 173, 223, 477)[10]. In 1503, he appears with his full name, "Luppa Nagzul de Compolong" (Quellen, 1886, 1, 19), but the editors of the volumes of Braşov documents also identify him with "Nagzul de Romesmark" (Quellen, 1886, 1, 18) or "Nagzul Roscha de Compolong" (Quellen, 1886, 1, 10).

As Matei Cazacu and Gernot Nussbächer remarked, Neacşu imported on the Braşov market both fish and oriental goods (carpets, fine oriental fabrics of silk, cotton and camel hair, spices) (Cazacu, 1968, 525; Nüssbacher, 1986, 77).

Neacşu was an important figure, the rulers and other Wallachian authorities intervening for him on several occasions, in cases of commercial disputes with merchants from Braşov[11]. Some trials reached the Saxon University of Sibiu and King János Szápolya (Nüssbacher, 1986, 78).

In 1503, he appears as a great merchant in the trade records of Braşov (Quellen, 1886, 1, 58–59). The letter addressed to the mayor also reveals this status; as mentioned above, the letter is sent as a personal correspondence, which once again indicates much closer relations than mere business ones with a merchant.

The Recipient of the Letter. Johann (Hans) Benkner (the Elder) was in

his turn a character with a fascinating life. According to Gernot Nussbächer (Nüssbacher, 1986, 78–79), Johann Benkner was the son of the merchant Christian Benkner (Nüssbacher, 1986, 25–26), who lived in the Corpus district of Braşov between 1480–1506, and was also a city senator (between 1484 and 1506). His son became a houseowner in the fortress in 1494 (near Piața Sfatului), and the customs records register him as a merchant with a rich commercial activity.

In 1505 he also becomes a senator (city councillor), in 1510 a *villic* (economic administrator), and after 1511 he was elected several times *jude* (mayor) of Braşov (1511, 1512, 1513, 1515—1518, 1521, 1523 and 1525–1526). In 1509, he received from Paulus Thomori, a castellan of the fortress of Făgăraş, a noble court at Papipuszta, in the county of Abaúj (Nüssbacher, 1988, 28). That same year, King Vladislav II of Hungary awarded Benkner a diploma of ennoblement, giving him a coat of arms: on a blue field there is a golden crown, from which there rises a silver deer with its neck pierced by a spear.

In 1517, he received a new diploma of ennoblement, which, unlike the previous one, awarded the title of noblemen to his successors as well: on a red background, a griffin that rose from a crown (Gyárfás, 1911). Nussbächer assumes that this news occurred in recognition of his merits at the conclusion of the alliance treaty of March 17, 1517 with Neagoe Basarab, ruler of Wallachia (Nüssbacher, 1986, 79).

In 1528, in the context of Braşov's positioning by Ferdinand de Habsburg in the dispute over the inheritance of the Hungarian crown, a delegation from Braşov travelled to Prague to ask Ferdinand de Habsburg to confirm the city's old privileges. The delegation consisted of the city's counties, Lukas Hirscher, the mayors Johannes Benkner, the notary Nicolaus Pictor and the senators Johannes Fuchs, Antonius Aurifaber, Johannes Gold. Their mission was successful, but on their return, on July 22, 1528, near Baia de Cris, the delegation was attacked and Johann Benkner was killed (Nüssbacher, 1988, 42).

II. To be the first ...

Although currently presented as "the first document written in Romanian", the *Letter* ... is in fact the first document written in Romanian that has been **preserved**. Its status is therefore the likely result of hazard, which caused this document to be kept in the archives of Braşov, and other documents, perhaps older, to be lost.

Without going into extensive analysis, we note that a grammarian Gheorghe appears in the Braşov tax lists (Nüssbacher, 1981, 117) between 1480–1506. However, it is unlikely that he did not write documents in Romanian,

providing such services to the Magistrate[13]. On the other hand, the first preserved document, written in Romanian, in Braşov and the very first, in our opinion, from Transylvania (Nüssbacher, 1981) is the so-called *Letter of Priest Iane*, dated June 20, 1587[14]. The issuer, priest Iane (1575–1591), is a "writer at the fortress", where he probably provided services for translating and writing correspondence in Romanian.

III. Discovery

The modernization of the city administration in Braşov, which happened in the second half of the 19th century, with the growing awareness of the importance held by historical sources for the history of the community led to the "institutionalization" of the city's historical archive in 1879 (Marin 2006).

In this context, a permanent employee, trained in the archival field, was appointed to process the old archive, according to the professional standards of the time. The inspired choice for this position – and for the Braşov archives – was Friedrich Stenner. After studying law in Budapest and Graz, he was appointed archivist of the city at the age of 28 and, for a quarter of a century, was responsible for organizing and highlighting the documents kept by the city administration[15]. In this context, following two other collections created by his predecessors, Fronius and Schnell, Friedrich Stenner made a collection of 8 volumes "from various documents found in the archive in packages and chests ... [and] were arranged chronologically and inserted in folders to facilitate use". The first volumes are documents with Cyrillic writing from the 14th–17th centuries (Bericht, 1984, 84). Among these documents, as shown above, under number 472, we can find Neacşu's letter.

According to the five-year activity report, dated March 12, 1898, his desire for these documents "written in Cyrillic and Slavonic" (sic!) to find a specialist able to make them accessible to science was fulfilled. These documents were studied in 1894 by university professors from Bucharest, Grigore Tocilescu and Ioan Bogdan, who, independently of each other and with the approval of the mayor, used the documents and "expressed their appreciation and praise for these discoveries, which are extremely valuable for the cultural history of their country"[16]. According to the *Register for the use of the archive*[17], the Bucharest researchers were present as follows:

Period	**Person**	**Action performed**
	1894	
April 30 – May, 3	Grigore G. Tocilescu	research on documents with Cyrillic writing

Period	Person	Action performed
21.08–1.09	A Petruțu	Transcription of documents with Cyrillic writing for the Romanian Academy of Sciences (created a list of these documents)
1.09–5.09	Ioan Bogdan[18]	transcription of documents with Cyrillic writing
5–7.11	Gr Tocilescu	study of Cyrillic documents from the collections of Fronius, Schnell, Stenner
1896		
18.01–1.02	Ioan Bogdan	Use of documents with Cyrillic writing

Stenner reports that Grigore Tocilescu sent A. Petruțu, an office head at the State Archives in Bucharest, who ordered the documents chronologically and after their issuer and inventoried them. While Petruțu wrote the inventory in Romanian, Stenner wrote it in German at the same time. Of the 759 documents in this collection, 476 were photographed by Carl Muschalek, by order of Tocilescu for his works, while the other documents in Romanian were only copied or extracts were drawn from them. "Once they are published, we will be able to make appropriate records in German and thus these documents will be accessible to the historical research of our country. "[19]

The rivalry between scientists caused a delay in the publication of the oldest preserved document written in Romanian. Although present at about the same time in the archives of Braşov, the first to publish documents (studied in 1895) is the Bulgarian researcher Liubomir Miletic, in 1896, but Neacşu's letter was not among them. Grigore Tocilescu intended to publish a "monumental edition" and requested several copies of the documents, for the Romanian Academy, copies that he would never hand in to the institution. Neacşu's letter appears in his edition of documents, published posthumously, in 1931; so Tocilescu had copied it and intended to bring it to publicity. Ioan Bogdan hoped (probably) to publish the documents as well, but he did not succeed to; his attitude towards Tocilescu, Miletic or Iorga would incline towards this conclusion. Meanwhile, Nicolae Iorga is studying the documents from Braşov (3.01–1.02.1899, 12.05.1899, 15.09.1900, according to the register of use) and will finally publish Neacşu's letter in 1900, stating: "until the publication, announced so many times and with so much noise, perhaps exaggerated, of the Academy, here is the oldest Romanian letter known to date…" (Iorga, 1900, 843, n. 1). Ioan Bogdan will publish his first edition in 1902, harshly criticizing all his competitors, but without including Neacşu's letter[20].

The letter therefore had too little a glorious appearance in the public domain. Beyond rivalries, the facts remain: Iorga published the text in Latin in 1900, 6 years after the first known access of Romanian researchers to the document, but as a simple footnote. Bogdan completely ignores the document in the first edition, he publishes it in Cyrillic reproduction in his 1905[21] volume, but still as a footnote (Bogdan, 1905, XXXIV, n. 1).

However, according to the available data, the first publication of the document according to the academic rules belongs to a "student in Bucharest" (as Stenner records him in the *Register for the use of the archive*, in 1903). Stoica Nicolaescu will publish, that same year, the document both in Cyrillic transcription and in Latin transcription, with historical explanations (Nicolaescu, 1905, 24–26)[22]. Finally, more than three decades after the "discovery", the public is presented with an edition designed by Neacşu's first reader, Grigore Tocilescu, with complete rendering (Cyrillic and Latin) of the text, in his posthumous volume... (Tocilescu, 1931, 456).

IV. Departure

On August 27, 1916, Austria-Hungary was attacked by the Kingdom of Romania, which had joined the Entente in the First World War. The next day, Braşov was occupied by Romanian troops and abandoned by the previous administration. The evolution of the strategic situation meant that in a month's time, on October 8, the Romanian army withdrew from the city.

During the Romanian administration of the city, with a task from the General Headquarters on August 31, 1916, Alexandru Tzigara-Samurcaş acted "in the occupied lands, to take measures to preserve objects and art collections, found in museums, public collections, churches and the libraries there" (Tzigara-Samurcaş, 1920, 26)[23]. Further on: "*since the colleague commissioned by the Ministry of War to take over the 'archives' from Transylvania did not fulfill his mission, I had to deal with them myself, with the belief that they belonged to us since they came from our voivodes...*" (Tzigara-Samurcaş, 1920, 27).

In his volume of memoirs, Tzigara-Samurcaş provides details:

> *"In the Municipal Archive of Braşov, I did not find anyone, but several folders of documents, thrown on a corridor, which I suspected to be the originals of those published – in part – by I. Bogdan. I picked them up and submitted them provisionally at the General Directorate of State Archives, obtaining receipt no. 357/30 Sept. 1916 signed by the general director D. Onciul himself, for the submission of 1942 documents from the rulers of Wallachia between 1379 and 1721. Most of these documents of undeniable importance for us are letters of the voivodes Mircea*

> *Basarab, Constantin Brâncoveanu etc. to the city magistrates of Braşov. General Crăiniceanu ... [was] delighted to pick up the documents...*" (Tzigara-Samurcaş, 1999, 151–152).

In his memoirs, the former mayor of Braşov Karl Ernst Schnell attributes the action to a Romanian intellectual from Braşov: "*...the Braşov professor, St [inge], in order to protect and secure the materials that are essential for the history of Romania, loaded them in a car and took them to Bucharest (Schnell collection and other documents). Whether this was his own initiative or an order, I do not know*" (Schnell, 1936, 12).

After the withdrawal of the Romanian armies, the rescue action was not appreciated as such, the city's archivist, Fritz Schuster, reporting on the "theft of documents" during the invasion of Romanian troops, the transfer of important documents to Budapest (sic!, actually Bucharest) and the request of making a trip to Bucharest to recover the archives "stolen by the Romanians"[24].

Following the steps taken by the Braşov administration, investigations were carried out in occupied Romania and their 1918 result reveals that those collections, handed over to the State Archives in Bucharest "for temporary storage", had been transported in 1916 to the Iaşi Archives. From here, as Karl Schnell points out, based on Sterie Stinghe's account, "they were taken to Moscow with the treasure." (Schnell, 1936, 12). The documents taken over by the Romanian army were those from the Fronius, Schnell and Stenner collections[25]. As such, Neacşu's letter was among the documents that went into exile. The achievement of Greater Romania could have entailed the loss of the oldest preserved testimony of the Romanian language.

V. The Return

The resumption of diplomatic relations between Romania and the USSR on June 9, 1934 paved the way for a first restitution from the Romanian treasury in Moscow, so that in June 1935, Romania received 1443 boxes (135 tons) containing state and private institutions archives, documents and manuscripts of the Romanian Academy[26]. Immediately, by the address 565/June 11, the return of the documents collected in 1916 was requested. On July 2, 1935, Dr. Constantin Sassu, director of the Historical Archives of Braşov, reported to the City Hall that

> *"no reply was received from the General Directorate of State Archives and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the address number 5625 of June 11 claiming the documents taken in 1916 from the municipal archives and transported together with*

> *the treasure to Moscow, although the boxes containing the Romanian archives were returned by the USSR and their opening began in Bucharest. Given the significance of these documents for Braşov, it would be desirable to make interventions in other ways in order to obtain the return of these documents.”*[27].

Following these interventions, the director of the State Archives, Constantin Moisil, specified that the Braşov City Hall will be contacted after the inventory of the boxes received has been made. To his honour and contrary to the practice of his other successors, Constantin Moisil will respect the ownership right of the Braşov Archives over the documents and will take the necessary steps for restitution. On March 25, 1936, “at 12:30 p.m.”, “*during a small cultural event to show both the Romanians there and the minority population that this archival treasure was taken by our troops to be saved from an evacuation with serious consequences to Budapest*”, the documents belonging to the 3 collections were returned to the Braşov archives (Marin, 2004, 237–238). On this occasion, Neacşu’s letter returned home, where it had been kept for 395 years.

As a Conclusion

In this short presentation we tried to review and structure the information we know about the oldest preserved document written in Romanian. Preserved most likely as a result of hazard and less probable to be unique in its time, we can state that it was less appreciated by modern historians, seekers of great historical reconstructions, despite its fundamental character for the history of Romanian culture. It was kept in the archives of Braşov for almost 4 centuries, but was picked up for “protection purposes” and sent into “exile”.

Fortunately, its destiny was favourable and it returned to the archives of Braşov, where it is still preserved today as proof of the way societies once naturally functioned inter-ethnically and of the irony of history, which often hides remarkable meanings in the most common traces of material culture.

Notes

1 Although an essential document for the culture of the Romanian people, we note that there was no attempt to inscribe the document in the UNESCO Memory of the World register (https://en.unesco.org/programme/mow/register).

2 For further explanations, please see the document history.

3 Comparing the photos from the last 70 years, you can see the increase in the level of deterioration of the impression, a result of degradation factors.

4 According to the English presentation on Wikipedia, the closing text was written in Bulgarian; see in this regard, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neac%C8%99u%27s_letter.

5 At Ioan Bogdan there is a reference to a study that questions the original character of the document: H. Tiktin, *Die rumänische Sprache*, in "Grundriss der romanischen Philologie", ed. 2, vol. 1 (Bogdan, 1905, XXXIV).

6 "*To the most wise and venerable and by God endowed master Hanas Benger of Braşov, much health to thee wisheth Neacşu of Câmpulung)*" (in Slavonic, in the original).

7 "I pak" (in Slavonic, in the original).

8 "za" (in Slavonic, in the original).

9 "And may God giveth thee grace. Amen" (in Slavonic, in the original).

10 In the last mention, dating from 1534, he appears as the "Nagsul" – an element that allows only the assumption that it is the same character. However, other documents mention him in relations with Braşov only 3 years earlier (National Archives, Braşov County Service: BV-F-00001-4-1-49, BV-F-00001-4-1-201).

11 See, for references, the documents from the National Archives, Braşov County Service, BV-F-00001-4-1-49, BV-F-00001-4-1-142, BV-F-00001-4-1-201, BV-F-00001-4-1-572.

12 Other sources indicate that he was his nephew (see https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_Benkner_(v%C3%A1rosb%C3%ADr%C3%B3,_%E2%80%931528)

13 Without indicating any reference, Vasile Oltean mentions "*Specialized literature confirms that the first testimony regarding the writing of a document in Romanian in 1495 belongs to the priest Bratu from Şchei, as a" writer at the Citadel of Sibiu*" (Oltean 2004, 24). No reference was found in a later edition (Oltean, 2019, 19).

14 The document is kept at the National Archives, Braşov County Service, quota BV-F-00001-4-1-509. See also Ion I. Roman, "Primul document Braşovean cunoscut – Scrisoarea popei Iane", in *Limba română*, year XVIII, 1969, no. 2, p. 69–73; the document was dated, through a filigranological study, by Gernot Nussbacher, back to 1587: *Datarea documentului popei Iane din Braşov*, in „Limba română", year XXV, 1976, no. 2, p. 269–274.

15 See https://kulturportal-west-ost.eu/biographien/stenner-friedrich-wilhelm–2, cu referințe.

16 National Archives, Braşov County Service, Braşov City Hall fund, Magistrate's Acts series, no. 4200/1898.

17 *Vormerkungen über die Bennutzung des Archivs vom Jahr 1877-* (National Archives, Braşov County Service, electronic quota BV-F-00001-47-15).

18 We note that Ioan Bogdan (Bogdan, 1902, III) claims that he found out about these documents from Stenner "in the summer of 1895, when I even studied some of them, at the same time as Dr. L. Miletici". However, the archive register presents I. Bogdan a year earlier and does not mention him at all in 1895, not even in the period when Miletic performed the research (8 days, starting with August 28, 1895).

19 National Archives, Braşov County Service, Braşov City Hall fund, Magistrate's Acts series, no. 4200/1898.

20 There are pages full of venom that remain a testimony to the "academic" rivalries: about Miletic (Bogdan 1902, p. VI-VII; Bogdan 1905, p. IX), about Iorga (Bogdan 1902, p. VIII-IX; Bogdan 1905, p. 11–12), about Tocilescu (Bogdan 1902, p. X-XI Bogdan 1905, p. XII-XIII. Also, see the introduction to Tocilescu's posthumous volume (Tocilescu, 1931, IV). Tocilescu in turn criticized the volume published by Bogdan in 1902 (Tocilescu 1931, IV).

21 However, it is noteworthy that he published the Cyrillic text, although, chronologically, it did not belong by right to volume I (ending in 1508).

22 "Neacşu's letter is the oldest monument of Romanian writing known to date and is published in Cyrillic letters as in the original for the first time here" (Nicolaescu, 1905, 26). It is worth noting the thanks he brings to Gr. Tocilescu, who, in turn, had praised his volume at the Romanian Academy! (Nicolaescu, 1905, VII).

23 Al. Tzigara-Samurcaş, Mărturisiri si-li-te, Bucharest, 1920, p. 26

24 National Archives, Braşov County Service, electronic quota BV-F-00001-5a-3-1-1916-1, documents 19065, 19271, 21166; see also Marin, 2004, 236.

25 National Archives, Braşov County Service, electronic quota BV-F-00001–4–1935–17846. These are 2 volumes belonging to the Fronius collection (388 + 252 pieces), 3 thick volumes belonging to the Schnell collection (90 + 209 + 243 pieces) and 2 folders of the Stenner collection (428 + 331 (pieces), a total of 1941 pieces.

26 See a more detailed description, with references, at https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rela%C8%9Biile_rom%C3%A2no-sovietice_%C3%AEn_perioada_interbelic%C4%83.

Bibliographical references

Bericht, 1900: *Bericht über die Verwaltung und den Haushalt der königlichen freien Stadt Kronstadt für die Jahre 1898 und 1899. Erstattet vom Bürgermeister*, Braşov.

BOGDAN Ioan, 1902: *Documente şi regeste privitoare la relațiile Țării Româneşti cu Braşovul şi Ungaria în secolul XV şi XVI*, Bucureşti.

BOGDAN Ioan, 1905: *Documente privitoare la Relațiile Țării Româneşti cu Braşovul şi cu Țara Ungurească în sec. XV şi XVI*, vol. I: 1413–1508, Bucureşti.

CAZACU Matei, 1968: "Sur la date de la lettre de Neacşu de Câmpulung (1521)", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, VI, 1968, nr. 3, 525–528.

GYÁRFÁS Tihamér, 1911: "Egyéb brassai czimereslevelek", *Turul* (3); https://www.pechy-de-pechujfalu.hu/myfiles/htmls/turul/1910–14xw/1910–14xw.html#Heading3319.

HURMUZAKI Eudoxiu de, 1900: *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. XI: 1517–1612, documente adunate, adnotate şi publicate de N. Iorga, Bucureşti.

MARIN Elisabeta, 2004: "Arhiva Braşovului în anii 1916–1920, 1936. Arhivarul Fritz Schuster (1916–1927)", în *Cumidava*, vol. XXVII.

MARIN Elisabeta, 2006: "Instituționalizarea arhivei istorice a oraşului Braşov (1879)", în *Acta Bacoviensis*, p. 26–32.

NICOLAESCU Stoica, 1905: *Documente slavo-române cu privire la relațiile Țării Româneşti şi Moldovei cu Ardealul în secolele XV şi XVI*, Bucureşti.

NUSSBÄCHER Gernot, 1981: "Neuer Beitrag zur frühesten Kronstädter Schulgeschichte", în *Aus Urkunden und Chroniken*, Bucureşti.

NUSSBÄCHER Gernot, 1986: "Scrisoarea lui Neacşul – cel mai vechi document păstrat în limba română", în *Din cronici şi hrisoave*, Bucureşti.

NUSSBÄCHER Gernot, 1988: "Scrisoarea Popii Iane din 20 iunie 1587", în *Drum Nou*, 2/11 noiembrie.

NUSSBÄCHER Gernot, 1988: *Johannes Benkner. Sein Leben und Wirken in Wort und Bild*, Bucureşti.
OLTEAN Vasile, 2019: *Prima şcoală românească din Şcheii Braşovului*, Braşov.
PANAITESCU Petre P., 1965: Începuturile şi biruinţa scrisului în limba română, Bucureşti.
Quellen, 1886: *Quellen zur Geschihte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 1, Kronstadt-Brassó.
Quellen, 1889: *Quellen zur Geschihte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 2, Kronstadt-Brassó.
SCHNELL Karl Ernst, 1936: *Aus meine Leben*, Braşov.
TOCILESCU Grigore G., 1931: *534 de documente istorice slavo-române din Ţara Românească şi Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul, 1346–1603*, Bucureşti.
TZIGARA-SAMURCAŞ Alexandru, 1920: *Mărturisiri si-li-te*, Bucureşti.
TZIGARA-SAMURCAŞ Alexandru, 1999: *Memorii*, vol. II, Bucureşti.

Aspects of Monetary Circulation in the Area of Argeş and Muscel (Late 15th Century – First Half of the 16th Century)

Ioan Andi Piţigoi
(Doctoral School of the "Valahia" University of Târgovişte)

The period between the end of the 15th and the first half of the 16th century is characterized by numerous changes in the monetary circulation throughout Wallachia. The changes occurred as a result of both political and economic events, which makes the area of Argeş and Muscel (the current Argeş County) not different from the rest of Wallachia in terms of monetary circulation, but rather, what is more, a part of the normality of this age.

The aspects and changes worth considering are the following:

1. Cessation of the issuance of local coins. In Wallachia, the first local coins were issued by Vladislav Vlaicu, who put into circulation three different monetary denominations: the ban (penny), the dinar and the ducat (Luchian, Buzdugan and Oprescu, 1977, 7–11). Gradually, the ducat became the main currency in domestic payments and in hoarding, continuing to be issued until the time of Laiotă Basarab (Iliescu, 1975, 153–151). Political instability, as well as the massive penetration of the Ottoman aspron trade and transactions, led, after the end of the reign of Mircea cel Bătrân (1418), to a decrease in the amount of local currency issued in Wallachia, so that in the middle of the 15th century, the rulers of Wallachia minted coins only for the purpose of consolidating the reign and expressing power (please read: Iliescu, 2008).

An important monetary discovery was made during the archaeological excavations undertaken at the "Podurile Zidului" point in the Lereşti commune, Argeş county, where Flaminiu Mârtzu and Thomas Naghler revealed the ruins of a church, dated in the 15th century, and 161 tombs belonging to the necropolis of the church, as well as a ducat issued during the reign of Laiotă Basarab. This ducat is one of the few pieces discovered throughout the Romanian space (Mârtzu, 1967, Mârtzu, 1968, Mârtzu, 1969).

2. The monopoly of the Turkish coin. After the decrease of the own currency volume, in Wallachia appears the need to supplement the existing monetary quantity on the market, the Ottoman aspron is imposed both as a currency itself and as an account currency. All sales, payment of tribute, gifts, interest are calculated in asprons, regardless of the currency in which the transaction was made. The development of trade with the Ottoman Empire led to the penetration to the north of the Danube of a fairly large amount of asprons, as evidenced by the older discoveries, but also by recent ones (Murgescu, 1996, 69–97).

We do not lack such discoveries in Argeş County. The most recent one, which we will explain in more detail in the following pages, was made in a forest near the city of Costeşti.

However, the economic stability enjoyed by the Ottoman Empire and the rise of aspron circulation in south-eastern Europe would last only up to the middle of the 16th century. The military campaigns in the East, the Mediterranean and Hungary gradually depleted a large part of the country's gold and silver reserves, which implicitly led to the devaluation of the aspron, its place being taken by the *padisahi* (Turkish currency of Iranian origin worth two asprons), the Hungarian denarius, the Venetian groschen, the Polish triplegroschen, the Dutch and German talers, as well as by other currencies of narower circulation.

3. Hungarian coins. The Hungarian dinars and obols appear in the monetary circulation in Wallachia since the 12th century, most likely, arriving in the southern Carpathians after the Byzantine expedition led by Ioan Ducas and Leon Vatatzes, an expedition against the Hungarians in which the Vlachs from the north of the Danube were also involved (Nania, 1973, 38–42)

Although many monetary discoveries of dinars issued by Matias Corvin are known, as, for example, for the Argeş-Muscel space we mention the coins found in the archaeological excavations from the "Sân Nicoară" church – Curtea de Argeş – 2 coins (Georgescu, 1981, 318) and the Câmpulung monastery – 4 coins (Cantacuzino, 2011, 115), the Hungarian dinar begins to actually circulate in the time of Ferdinand I, when a large amount of coin is put into circulation.

Neither the coins issued in the time of Ferdinand I, nor those issued by Matia Corvin, in his position of king of Hungary, do not disappear from circulation during the following centuries, certain 17th-century monetary discoveries in which these coins are found being also known. Such a discovery was registered in 2020 on the territory of Călineşti locality from the Argeş county.

4. Hoarding. Within the limits of the current Argeş county there were discovered several treasures with the date of completion of the monetary accumulation in the 15th–16th centuries, but also treasures concluded in the 17th–18th centuries containing older coins, as follows.

Tutana – 11 coins, ducats from the time of Mircea cel Bătrân, issued between 1402–1418, but with an insignificant percentage of silver, an extremely rare feature (Maschio & Cristocea, 2001, 87–90).

Glavacioc – 91 coins, 80 ducats from the time of Mircea cel Bătrân, issued between 1402 and 1418, 11 halves of Byzantine stavraton issued during the emperors Manuel II the Palaeologus (1391–1423) and John VII the Palaeologus (1399–1403) (Maschio & Cristocea, 1983, 69–81).

Bascov – 22 coins, dinars issued by Ferdinand I in the period 1537–1558 (novel).

Vultureşti – 31 coins, one ½ groschen from Sigismund I Vasa, three triplegroschen from Sigismund I Vasa, 11 triplegroschen from Sigismund III Vasa, 12 dinars from Ferdinand I and 4 dinars from Maximilian II. The coins were issued between 1526 and 1597 (Smaranda & Trâmbaciu, 1981, 341–348).

Dragoslavele – 34 coins, of which 3 pieces of ½ groschen from Sigismund I Vasa, 2 triplegroschen Ştefan Báthory, 19 triplegroschen from Sigismund III Vasa, one dinar from Matia Corvin, two dinars from Maximilian II and 7 others from Rudolph II. The coins were issued between 1484/1480–1601 (Smaranda & Trâmbaciu, 1981, 341–348).

Izvoru – nine coins minted between 1585–1601 (possibly much larger hoard), three-groschen coins; one coin from Stephen Báthory, one from Sigismund Báthory, the remaining seven coins were issued during the reign of Sigismund III Vasa (Maschio, 1995, 53–58).

Câmpulung – 24 coins issued between 1530–1608; three talers from Ferdinand I, Rudolf II and Sigismund Bathory, 4 pieces of three groschen from Stephen Báthory, 15 pieces of three groschen from Sigismund III Vasa and one each by Stephen Bocskay and Gabriel Báthory (Smaranda & Trâmbaciu, 1981, 341–348).

Recea – a thesaurus consisting of 85 pieces issued in the 16th and 18th centuries, of which: 73 Ottoman coins, 10 lowentaler coins issued in the Netherlands and two florins of 28 Roman-German stuivers. Of the 85 coins, only two Dutch talers were minted in the 16th century, in 1576 and 1598 (Măndescu, Dumitrescu & Păduraru, 2014, 152).

5. Recent discoveries. In 2020 and 2021 the Argeş County Museum received two lots of coins, discovered by metal detection, and another coin, as an isolated discovery. The first of the lots was found in the commune of Călineşti and consists of three Hungarian dinars issued by Matia Corvin and one akce issued by Mehmed IV "Avci" (The Hunter), the second lot consists of four akce issued by Mehmed II "Fatih" (The Conqueror), and the isolated discovery was also made near the city of Costești. For security reasons, we will not provide the exact locations of the findings.

This way we would like to thank the discoverers, Ştefan-Cristian Tomescu and Mihai Carpo, for observing the procedures in force in case of discoveries made by metal detection and for making available the data related to the place of discoveries.

6. Catalogue of the pieces:

1. AR, acke, the Ottoman Empire, Mehmed IIa, 0,90 g, 12 mm, double minting of both obverse and reverse, minted between 1451–1481 (second reign), Serez mint, circular legend OBV: Mehmed bin Murad han. Azze nasrühü (Mehmed son of Murad Han. Be victorious), REV: Hüllide mülkühü. Duribe Serez (May his kingdom last. Minted at Serez), Costeşti batch, inv. no. 22479, Pere 86.




2. Just like above, but duribe Edirne (minted at Edirne -Adrianopol), 0,91 g, 11 mm, Costeşti batch, inv. no. 22480, Pere 86.




3. Just like above, but duribe Ayasoluk, on the reverse: three-line legend (minted at Ayasoluk – Ephesus), 0,91 g, 10 mm, Costeşti batch, inv. no. 22481, Pere 87.




4. Just like above, but duribe Serez (minted at Serez), circular legend and framed in three circles on the obverse, 0,90 g, 11 mm, Costeşti batch, inv. no. 22482, Pere 87.




5. Just like above, but duribe Novar (minted at Novar – Novo Brdo), pearled circle on obverse and reverse, 0,89 g, 11 mm, isolated discovery Costeşti, inv. no. 22483, Pere 86.




6. AR, dinar, Kingdom of Hungary, Matia Corvin, ←, 0,29 g, 16 mm minted between 1482–1490, OBV: shield with four quarters: the first – fasciated quarter, the second – double cross of Hungary, the third – the three leopard heads of Dalmatia, the fourth – the lion of Bohemia, **M MATHIE · R hVnGARIE**, REV: Madonna holding baby Jesus in her arms**, PATROn -VnGARE**, Călineşti batch, inv. no. 22438, Unger 566.




7. Just like above, butr OBV: **M· MAThIE· R· hVNGARI**, RV: **PATROn VnGARI,** ←, 0,36 g, 15 mm, Călineşti batch, inv. no. 22439, Unger 565.




8. Just like no. 6, but incomplete legend, ↓, 0,31 g, 11 mm, fragmentary, Călineşti batch, inv. no. 22440, Unger 562–567.




9. AR, acke, Ottoman Empire, Mehmed IV Avci, 0,11 g, 7 mm, edge cut and brought to half of the original dimensions, much of the legend removed. OBV: Sultan Mehmed bin Ibrahim Han (Sultan Mehmed son of Ibrahim Han) REV: Hüllide mülkühü. Duribe Halep? (May his kingdom last. Minted in Aleppo? Year of the Hegira 1058 (1648), Călineşti batch, inv. no. 22441, Pere 460.




Bibliographical references

CANTACUZINO Gheorghe, 2011: *Începuturile orașului Câmpulung și Curtea Domnească. Aspecte ale civilizației urbane la Câmpulung,* București, Editura Academiei Române.

GEORGESCU George, 1981: "Monede găsite la Sîn Nicoară, Curtea de Argeş", în *Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române,* CXXIV-CXXVIII, 1976–1980, București, p. 317–321.

ILIESCU Octavian, 1975: "Ducații Țării Românești cu numele lui Basarab Voievod", în *Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică,* VI, București, Editura Academiei, p. 139–151.

ILIESCU Octavian, 2008: *Monetele lui Mircea cel Bătrân,* ediție îngrijită, note și anexă bibliografică de Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu și Ionel Cândea, Brăila, Editura Istros.

LUCHIAN Octavian, BUZDUGAN, George, OPRESCU, Constantin, 1977: *Monede și bancnote românești,* București, Editura Sport-Turism.

MÂRTZU Flaminiu, 1967: "O monedă necunoscută a lui Basarab al II-lea", în *Revista Muzeelor,* IV, tom. III, București, p. 272–273.

MÂRTZU Flaminiu, 1968: "Un ecou al Renașterii, în a doua jumătate a secolului al XV-lea, la Câmpulung Muscel", în *Revista Muzeelor,* V, tom. V, p. 449–450.

MÂRTZU Flaminiu, 1969: "Prezențe arheologice bogomilice în zona Câmpulung Muscel, județul Argeș, în *Studii și Comunicări. Muzeul Pitești,* II, Pitești, p. 219–229.

MASCHIO Romeo, 1995: "Tezaurul de monede feudale de la Izvoru, județul Argeș (sec. XVI-XVII)", în *Argesis,* tom. VII, Pitești, Editura Ordessos, p. 53–58.

MASCHIO Romeo, CRISTOCEA Spiridon, 1983: "Tezaurul de monede medievale românești și bizantine din sec. XIV-XV descoperit la ansamblul feudal Glavacioc, jud. Argeș", în *Cercetări Numismatice,* V, București, p. 69–81.

MASCHIO Romeo, CRISTOCEA Spiridon, 2001: "Monede emise de Mircea cel Bătrân descoperite în biserica fostei mănăstiri Tutana", în *Argesis,* tom. X, Pitești, Editura Ordessos, p. 87–90.

MĂNDESCU Dragoş, DUMITRESCU Ion, PĂDURARU Marius, 2014: *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Argeș,* Brăila, Editura Istros.

MURGESCU Bogdan, 1996: *Circulația monetară în Țările Române în secolul al XVI-lea,* București, Editura Enciclopedică.

NANIA Ion, 1973: "O ciocnire armată între bizantini și unguri, la nord de Dunăre, necunoscută până astăzi", în *Studii și Articole de Istorie,* XXII, București, p. 38–42.

SMARANDA, Aurică, Trâmbaciu, Ștefan, 1981: "Trei tezaure monetare din secolele XV-XVII descoperite în zona oraşului Câmpulung Muscel", în *Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române,* CXXIV-CXXVIII, 1976–1980, Bucureşti, p. 341–348.

Catalogues

PERE Nuri, 1968, Osmanlilarda Madenî Paralar, Istambul.

UNGER Emil, 1974: *Magyar Eremhatarozo,* vol, I, Budapesta.

Aspects from the History of Medieval Câmpulung (14th–16th Centuries)

Churches as Testimonies of the Evolution of the Territory Inhabited by Câmpulung Citizens until the Second Half of the 16th Century

Carmen Oprescu
(University of Pitești)

For Wallachia, the reign of Neagoe Basarab meant peace and political stability, cultural and artistic flourishing, economic prosperity, generated especially by the development of trade and crafts. There was a substantial increase in population, income and standard of living. These are particular conditions that benefited cities and fairs in the first place.

It is no coincidence that three months before the death of the ruler, a merchant from Câmpulung, elected mayor of the city, speaks in Romanian when he sends a letter to his counterpart from Brașov. "The Romanians' identity in the Middle Ages was maintained, alongside confession, especially through language and the defence of the language was transposed into the defence of ethnicity, national specificity" (Pop, 1998, 112–113). As it is not accidental that the interest of the Romanian state, pursued by the rulers engaged in the anti-Ottoman struggle in the 16th century, was for the state borders to overlap with the ethnic ones (Ştefănescu, 2009, 87–91), so that this representative of Câmpulung reveals, in Romanian, information about the movements of the Ottoman troops.

Nonetheless, before correlating the data provided by archaeologists and the territory of Câmpulung, we must evoke the importance that Romanian rulers granted to the church, to confessional affiliation.

After the fall of Constantinople, the role of the church as a national institution gradually increased within Orthodox states. For Romanians, the ruler is the head of the church and must promote and protect the church through state policy (Pop, 1998, 103).

On the Romanian territories, Orthodox rituals took place in people's houses or in modest wooden places of worship. As knowledge of the Palaeological Renaissance penetrated, the foundations (Palaeological, in essence) of local schools in architecture, painting and all the artistic crafts related to the construction of the Orthodox shrine, in the cultural and spiritual life, in the local Orthodox traditions, were built in areas outside the empire under its spiritual, cultural and artistic influence. The Byzantine Empire is gradually annihilated as the nucleus of cultural and spiritual evolution. Under such conditions, the centre is dissipated in small nuclei of synthesis and particular evolution which transmit influences (often associated with politics) and in turn produce syntheses in the Christian-Orthodox world. Artistically, this is what happened in the Romanian extra-Carpathian territories in the 14^{th}–16^{th} centuries (Musicescu and Ionescu, 1976, 7). So the appearance of the Romanian places of worship was also encouraged by the church, but especially by the state through the example of the important voivodes of Mircea cel Bătrân, Alexandru cel Bun, Ştefan cel Mare, Neagoe Basarab and Petru Rareş. In ecclesiastical architecture, mural painting, decorative sculpture, artistic embroidery there already appear the masterpieces, the heads of creative series of artistic schools, the models for the Romanian artistic, cultural and spiritual evolution from the following centuries.

What was Câmpulung like at that time and what was the living environment of the Câmpulung community? Unfortunately, the information is very scarce compared to other Romanian cities, especially because of the lack of systematic archaeological research, while dating based on coins from the tombs "is still only a *terminus ante quem*" (Cantacuzino, 2011, 30).

Archaeological research conducted in Câmpulung exclusively in churches, however, indicates the following:

1. The age of the places of worship, starting from their foundation;
2. The relation of the townspeople community with the churches, especially for the area supposed to have belonged to the Royal Court;
3. The approximation of the extent of the inhabited area of the city (the reason why the two Catholic places were included in the list below) at the end of the period under study, so at the time when the letter written in Romanian, which carried within the resentment of the Câmpulung citizen towards the enemy of his national faith and identity started its journey herefrom.

Certain churches in Câmpulung were founded in the 15^{th} century and were built of wood, whilst, later on, the current wall constructions with a three-cusped plan would overlap with them. It should be noted, however, that the information highlighted by the archaeological surveys, generally carried out around the sites and not inside them, was published only partially and often late.

Worship buildings founded until the middle of the 16th century were (Cantacuzino, 2011, 23–30):

1. Bărăția, the Catholic (parish) church of St. James the Great, first dated when the tombstone of Count Laurentiu was laid, i.e. in 1300 or during the 14th century, between 1310–1349, according to a newer analytical interpretation of the text on the tombstone (Albu, 2009, 138) which could change numerous data and hypotheses regarding the history of Câmpulung.

2. Adormirea Maicii Domnului Church ("Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary"), now the main church of the Negru Vodă monastery – the **Basarabi Voivodship Church**, dedicated to one of the great holidays of the Marian cycle, one of the most widespread patron saints in the Romanian extra-Carpathian territories, for monastic settlements and **representative** buildings (Puşcaşu, 2001, 35), dated to the middle of the 14th century: archaeological research, where it could be carried out and insofar as it was published, indicates an active area around the church, with traces of habitation since the late Hallstatt period (7th century – 5th century BC), followed chronologically by numerous tombs and traces of constructions dating from the 14th century. The traces of levelling the built land and for defensive arrangements or of compartmentalization of the ensemble also justify the hypothesis of using the place, including as a church, for the use of the city inhabitants even when the princely residence was ruined (Cantacuzino, 2011, 46)

The historical reasoning behind the Royal Court's establishment in this area and not elsewhere is imposed by the fact that in a city which for whole centuries had been granted privileges of self-government and linked with the exclusive possession of the hearth of the city, Matei Basarab would have chosen to build a monastery only on that spot where there was a foundation of the Basarabi right from its beginning (Oprescu, 2000, 144). As a self-declared descendant of the family of the first bearers of the title of voivode of Wallachia, he had to respect *de jures* and *de facto* (Puşcaşu, 37–38, 52–53) the custom of the founding act which required all the descendants to care for the churches built by their predecessors. In fact, the policy pursued by him in the construction/repair/rebuilding of places of worship had to justify in all the people's the conscience his descendance from this family, thus settling the right to the country's throne (Oprescu, 2009, 39)

In 1636 it was rebuilt on the same foundations by reusing the stone from the initial construction.

3. Cloaşterul (from *Kloster* = monastery), with the patron saint of St. Elizabeth, founded in 1345, presumably by Dominican monks. It was ruined before 1525, but the place re-entered Catholic property and was respected until the end of the 18th century. Very brief archaeological surveys and research

have not confirmed the advanced dating for the main site, respectively 1241 or 1345.

4. Valea (Vovidenia) is archeologically dated due to the inventory of a tomb to the second half of the 14th century.

5. Marina. The architectural analogies allowed the assumption of dating it to the 15th century, without excluding the possibility of dating it to the 13th century, according to tradition (Greceanu, 1982, 28). Archaeological excavations outside the church, not extensive enough and incompletely published, revealed tombs from the 16th–17th centuries and consistent traces of habitation from the 15th century.

6. Sf. Gheorghe Olari ("St. George Olari"). Probably built in the 15th century, it later underwent numerous repairs and additions, the first dating being based on the tombs around the building, where coins minted by Matia Corvin between 1468–1486 were found. In one of the tombs was discovered a ring with an ancient coin and the buttons of a tunic, corresponding to the European, Renaissance fashion of the time, which made Flaminiu Mârțu notice "the openness of the people of Câmpulung to the general European cultural values" and consider the ring as "one of the oldest reflections of the Renaissance and urban humanism first expressed in Câmpulung" (Mârțu, 1968, 450).



Fig. 1. Gothic portal with crossed rods, St. George-Olari church. It has obvious similarities with the portal located at the Crețulești church in Târgovişte and, especially with a suite of portals from places founded by Ștefan cel Mare in Moldavia.

7. **Sf. Nicolae-Popa Savu** ("Sf. Nicolae din Târg", i.e. from Mahalaua Târgu – "St. Nicholas of Târg", i.e. from the Târgu Suburb). The inscription is reminiscent of the old place built in the 15th century. The first attestation in 1673 on a tombstone inside the old building. No archaeological excavations are known.

8. **Sf. Ilie (St. Elijah).** Archaeological excavations in 1972 carried out by Fl. Mârțu, unpublished, highlighted here a wooden church dating from the second half of the 15th century, around which Hungarian, Ragusan, Polish, German, Baltic and Ottoman coins were discovered. The current building was constructed in 1626.

9. Adormirea Maicii Domnului – **Fundeni** ("Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary" – **Fundeni**). The first archeologically discovered construction was dated to the last quarter of the 15th century.

10. Adormirea Maicii Domnului – **Bradul** ("Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary – **Bradul**)– The first phase. Probably from the 15th century, it is archeologically attested by tombs with coins from the second half of the 15th century.

11. Intrarea Maicii domnului în biserică – **Schei** ("Entrance of Virgin Mary in the Church – **Schei**) – The first attestation is the inscription on a 1548 tombstone. Archaeological surveys have been carried out, unpublished, probably only on the outside.

12. Sf. Spiridon – **Şubeşti** (St. Spiridon – **Şubeşti**). Probably built in **1551–1552**, according to the 1779 inscription (Cantacuzino, 2002, 77), the place was rebuilt from the ground up, in its current form, in the 17th century. No archaeological excavations are known inside and the preventive surveys carried out in 2013, during the renovation of the building, were not published, inside there was discovered a stone slab dating from the 15th century (Ionescu-Berechet, 2016–2016, 101, 108, 110).

Conclusions to the analysis of the list of the first churches in Câmpulung

Of all the nineteen places of worship ever built in this city, twelve were indexed by the middle of the 16th century, for which there is accepted historical evidence and hypotheses that they were the first to appear on the territory of this Romanian settlement in the period mentioned, even if in some cases it may be presumed that they, and not only they, would have existed even earlier than they could have been dated.

Subsequently to those listed, seven other Orthodox churches were built: two in the 17th century (Biserica **Domnească** – the **Royal Church** – and Sf. **Treime** – the **Holy Trinity**), three in the 18th century (Sf. Nicolae-**Nicuț** – St.

Nicholas-**Nicut**, Sf. **Vineri** – St. **Friday** and Vişoi) to which those built outside the area inhabited at that time are to be added: the Mărculeşti-Flămânda hermitage and the All Saints church, a collective foundation of the merchants from Câmpulung built in the 19th century in the Apa Sărată neighbourhood. It should not be forgotten that for four foundations from the 17th–18th centuries (Biserica Domnească, Sf. Treime, Sf. Nicolae-Nicuț and Sf. Vineri) no archaeological research was done to know for sure if there were no previous constructions under them.

Before analysing the relations of the places of worship based on the information from the list above, some considerations are needed.

Benefiting from the organizational and economic contribution of the colonists superimposed on the spiritual and organizational traditions of the peasant communities, the balanced and wise policy of the voivodes, especially of Basarab I, Vladislav I Vlaicu and especially Neagoe Basarab, and all other favourable local conditions already known and studied, among which numerous economic and self-government privileges, but also an active commercial life, Câmpulung had a linear development, calmly ascending, from the founding of the feudal state until the end of the reign of Neagoe Basarab.

The conclusions drawn from the evolution of the places of worship mentioned in the list are:

– for the inhabitants of the city there were already eleven churches, ten of which were of Orthodox myrrh and one Catholic – the 12th, excluded, being that of the Dominican monastery, called "Cloaşter" by the people of Câmpulung, a church of worship as a function (Puşcaşu, 2001, 31).

– Regarding the founders' social category, out of the twelve places, nine can be considered as orthodox community foundations (Puşcaşu, 2011, 29), to which the Bărăția can be added, while two others are exceptional achievements of some social peaks: Biserica Voievodală (the Voivodship Church) and the Cloaşterul.

– As function, ten of them are in the category of myrrh churches (again St. James the Great – the Bărăția, can be assimilated to them) while the Adormirea Maicii Domnului (Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary) in the Royal Court also becomes a myrrh church starting with approximately the middle of the chronological interval studied, respectively from the founding of the feudal state until the end of the reign of Neagoe Basarab, since when Neacşu's letter is preserved.

– The distribution in the territory of eleven churches (except for the Cloașterul, located at the beginning on a place distant from the inhabited territory, at the edge below the hillside of the southwest platform of the settlement) clearly indicates that the inhabited areas then coincide with the city surface

from the beginning of the modern era. In fig. 2 the living nuclei were overlaid on the churches mentioned in the list with a topographic survey made in the years 1895–1896 (Oprescu, 2019, 47).

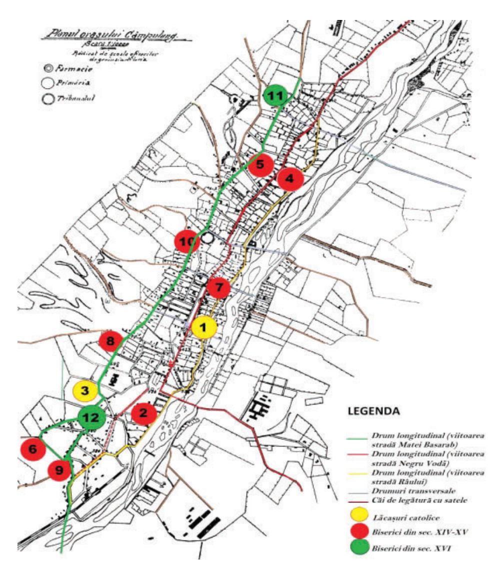


Fig. 2. The position on the city territory of the places of worship existing until the end of the reign of Neagoe Basarab.

– It thus becomes obvious that the territorial development of Câmpulung did not occur mainly by expanding the urban territory, but by thickening its internal structure, by subdividing the properties of the inhabitants and, implicitly, by thickening and reorienting the traffic network (Oprescu, 2004, 22). Only in the modern administrative systems was the city given more surface area by incorporating small settlements/hamlets/villages that became Câmpulung suburbs/ neighbourhoods: Bughea, Valea Româneştilor, Malu, Chilii and others. Therefore, the territory inhabited by the people of Campulung, at the end of the 15th century and in the first part of the following century, was the sum of the areas inhabited by the parishioners of the 11 places, except for the Cloașterul.

– The location of the churches within the territory generated, in the conditions of the mental framework specific to the Middle Ages (Puşcaşu, 2001, 7, no. 1), the main traffic nodes in the road network.

People came to church frequently from all directions. Sometimes the parishioners did not live in the immediate vicinity of its surrounding area, so bypassing natural obstacles or property (such as the considerable Catholic property left after the ruining and complete disappearance of the Cloașterului

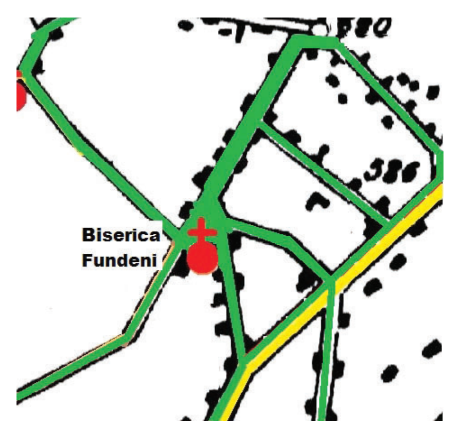


Fig. 3. The traffic node from the Fundeni church

buildings), they converged on the road to the church. And not only them, because regular fairs attracted, in certain places in the city, often for several days, merchants, craftsmen, peasants from distant places, who sought, settling it in turn, the shortest way to a place of prayer. Thus, remaining functional or being rebuilt, the places have so far remained nodes of urban traffic.

– Instead, the voivodship worship place of Negru Vodă generated around it a radial-circular network, forming a significant traffic node that is located at the entrance to the protected precinct of the church of the ruined Royal Court turned into myrrh church. It is exactly the place that the memory of the city remembered to be the one where the mayor consecrated during the cathedral service was confirmed by the city councillors and acclaimed by the crowd (Aricescu, 2007, 107–109).

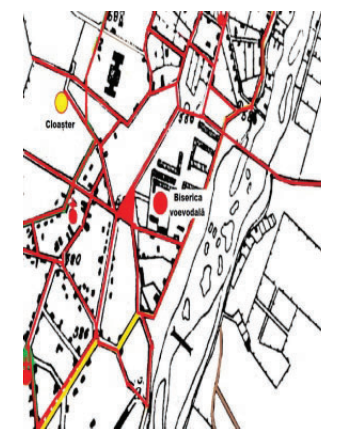


Fig. 4. The street network next to the Voivodship Church.

– A circular bypass network was formed around Cloaşterului, given that the ownership of the land was handed over to the Catholics in the city until the eve of the 19th century.

– The disposition and dispersion of the locations of religious buildings on the city surface confirms the hypothesis that, in the Middle Ages, the main traffic route along the city was that of the street that will be called in modern times Gruiului Street or Matei Basarab Street. Eight of the first places were already located along it during the mentioned period, the remaining seven churches being also built on this traffic axis, while along the current Negru Vodă Street there were only four and the same have remained till the present (Oprescu, 2019, 42, 48–50).

Bibliographical references

ALBU Ioan, 2009: "Lespedea funerară a comitelui Laurenţiu din Câmpulung", în

Studia Varia in Honorem Professoris Ştefan Ştefănescu. Octogenarii, Bucureşti-Brăila, Editura Academiei Române-Editura Istros, p. 123–176.

ARICESCU Constantin D., 1855: *Istoria Câmpulungului, prima rezidență a României*, ediție îngrijită de Adrian Săvoiu şi Gheorghe Pârnuță, transcriere cu litere latine a textului chirilic, Bucureşti, Editura Ars Docendi (Ediția originală este tipărită în două volume, în 1855 partea I şi în 1856 partea a doua, în limba română dar cu litere chirilice).

CANTACUZINO Gheorghe I., 2002: *Câmpulung. Vechi monumente şi biserici*, Bucureşti, Editura Vremea.

CANTACUZINO Gheorghe I., 2011: Începuturile oraşului Câmpulung şi Curtea Domnească. Aspecte ale civilizației urbane la Câmpulung, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române.

GRECEANU Eugenia, 1982: "Legături între Transilvania şi Țara Românească oglindite în arhitectura bisericii Sf. Marina din Câmpulung Muscel", în *Studii şi Comunicări*, II, Muzeul Câmpulung Muscel, p. 25–37.

IONESCU-BERECHET Stefan, 2015–2016: "Biserica Şubeşti din Câmpulung-Muscel. *Corpus*-ul inscripțiilor", în *Revista Monumentelor Istor*ice, 2, p. 101–137.

MÂRȚU Flaminiu, 1968: "Un ecou al Renaşterii, în a doua jumătate a secolului al XV-lea, la Câmpulung Muscel", în *Revista Muzeelor*, 1968, 5, p. 449–450.

MUSICESCU Ana Maria, IONESCU Grigore, 1976: *Biserica domnească din Curtea de Argeş*, Bucureşti, Editura Meridiane.

OPRESCU Carmen, 2009: "Câmpulungul muscelean în epoca lui Ştefan cel Mare", în *Historia Urbana*, XI, nr.1–2/2004, p. 9–23.

OPRESCU Carmen, 2009: "Rolul instituțiilor ecleziastice în geneza şi evoluția oraşului Câmpulung Muscel", în *Historia Urbana*, VIII, 1–2/2000, p. 127–145.

OPRESCU Carmen, 2009: "Mănăstirea Negru Vodă şi locul ei în istoria oraşului Câmpulung Muscel" în *Historia Urbana*, XVII, 2009, p. 33–45.

OPRESCU Carmen, 2019: "Străzile oraşului şi modernizarea Câmpulungului muscelean (1880–1930)", în *Historia Urbana*, XXVII, p. 39–72.

POP Ioan-Aurel, 1998: *Națiunea română medievală*, Bucureşti, Editura Enciclopedică.

ŞTEFĂNESCU Ştefan, 1970: *Țara Românească de la Basarab I "Întemeietorul" până la Mihai Viteaz*ul, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei R.S.R. p. 87–91.

ŞTEFĂNESCU Ştefan, 2009: "Românii – Latinii orientului – şi conştiința europeană în secolul al XVI", Discurs de recepție la Academia Română, https://academiaromana.ro/com2009/pag_com09_0205.htm

The Archaeological and Bibliographical Repertoire of the Medieval Monuments from the Time of Neacşu of Câmpulung (End of the 15th Century – First Half of the 16th Century)

Ovidiu Vasile Udrescu
(Doctoral School of the University of Piteşti)

Constantin Augustus Bărbulescu
("Gheorghe I. Brătianu" Centre for Historical, Archaeological and Heritage Research, University of Piteşti)

„Cu greu şi cu strimt iaste neştine a da de cap şi începutură fieştecăruia lucru, mai vârtos celuia când nici cum, nici de nici o parte ajutor iaste, (…), făcându-se şi ca o luminare arătându-se, ca să se poată ajuta cel ce nu ştie de la cel ce ştie şi cele din întunerec să iasă la lumină".
(Stolnicul Constantin Cantacuzino,
Istoria Ţării Rumâneşti)[1]

Whether it associates its name with Negru Vodă, Basarab I or with Master Neacşu and its letter in Romanian, the city from the long field between the hillocks ("*Câmplungul dintre muscele*") is without a doubt one of the cities and residences of the beginnings of the Wallachian statehood.

Unfortunately, despite all the efforts of such archaeologists as Flaminiu Mîrtzu, Virgil Drăghiceanu, Dinu V. Rosetti, Spiridon Cristocea, Ştefan

[1] *"It is difficult for one to do anything, and it is all the more difficult for one who does not receive any help. He transforms into a candle and shows himself as such to others, to help those who do not know and to bring to light all that is in darkness."* (Steward Constantin Cantacuzino, *History of Wallachia*).

Trâmbaciu, Ion Barnea, Emil Lăzărescu or Gheorghe I. Cantacuzino, the city still hides much of the history of the beginnings of Wallachia.

Thus, today, we limit our endeavour to merely taking a look at the threshold between the 15th and 16th centuries, thinking that what we have summarized here is only a challenge for those to come. Moreover, we are convinced that we have not been able to synthesise what has been discovered so far on the proposed scale.

How much remained unexplored and undiscovered? Much, too much and only a large archaeology project could draw a real map of Câmpulung from its beginning till the present.

* * *

The ensemble of the Royal Court, the location where the Negru Vodă church is now situated, has undergone profound alterations over time, especially since it was demolished and rebuilt several times. In general, the answers regarding the phases of the monastic constructions here sought to be obtained with the help of archaeological excavations undertaken several times, this being due to the fact that none of the constructions built before the 17th century exists any longer in their original state.

Among the first attempts of this kind were those of Cezar Boliac in 1845, who, nonetheless, gave up this goal in favour of the nearby Jidova camp (Măndescu, 2009, 55), later followed by his disciple, Dimitrie Butculescu, who, around 1876, undertook unsystematic archaeological excavations (Chihaia, 1974, 231). However, the archaeological research conducted by V. Drăghiceanu revealed the existence of the first floor of the church that underwent repairs near the tombstones that were removed and replaced with brick, the floor that remained from the 14th century until 1633 and which lies at a depth of 2 meters as compared to the current level (Chihaia, 1974, 206–207).

Based on the research of the respective foundations, two hypotheses were advanced regarding, on the one hand, the founder of the building from that period, and, on the other hand, the construction made by him. As regards the founder, the opinion was advanced that it was Basarab I, the building being constructed before the years 1351 or 1352 when his son, Nicolae Alexandru made donations to him (Chihaia, 1961, 1041); as regards the building, both in point of style and importance, it was stated, no more, no less, that it would represent "the first religious monument of Western origin erected within the newly-founded state of Wallachia" (Ionescu, 1963, 118). First or not, the nave denotes a division made following the fashion of western churches, which is why the craftsmen are believed to have been sought from Transylvania

(Ionescu, 1937, 51). As a continuation of the idea that the building was made by Transylvanian craftsmen and considering its Romanesque-Gothic style, the worship place is seen in such situations as hybrid since it served as a chapel of the Orthodox voivodship court, respectively as a necropolis of the ruling family (Teodorescu, 1976, 166).

The archaeological excavations carried out by Virgil Drăghiceanu between August 27 and October 7 led, in addition to a series of tombs, including the possible tombs of Basarab I and Nicolae Alexandru, to the discovery of the brick floor placed obliquely to the church axis, the tower with a *spiral* staircase, both elements belonging to the old church of Basarab I, but they could also establish the dimensions of the church from the same period, a church that had the size of 18 × 9.25 m (Drăghiceanu, 1964, 16–322). Due to these excavations, the shape of the first monastic edifice could be reconstructed (fig. 1–2).

Considering that on the current location of the abbot's house, a building presumed to be the voivode's house, the floor of a building was discovered at a depth of 2.10–2.20 m (Chihaia, 1974, 207, 224), it was initially concluded that on this site there was also a construction that lasted between the 14th–17th centuries. Moreover, analysing the results of archaeological excavations, closer conclusions were drawn on at least the dating of the cellar of the abbot's house, the latter being considered as belonging to the 16th century (Chihaia, 1974, 231).

The dating of the floor of the abbot's house during the period of Neacşu's life was motivated in the specialized bibliography by the discovery of tombs dated with the help of coins, in an upper layer, the oldest coin from the respective tombs dating from 1506–1536, and the newest from the year 1573 (Chihaia, 1974, 231–232).

Although following the archaeological survey conducted between June 6–15, 1963 by Dinu V. Rosetti from the Archaeology Institute of the Academy, along with the local museum, in addition to advancing the idea that the lower part of the abbot's house dates from the 14th–15th centuries, the hypothesis was advanced that, in fact, the cellars belonged to the royal house from the centuries mentioned (Mîrțu, 1965, 1032–1042). Quite rightfully, the small section of only 4 × 3 m (Mîrțu, 1965, 1033) made in 1963 by Dinu V. Rosetti and Flaminiu Mîrțu was considered inconclusive given the small size of the research (Cantacuzino, 2011, 12).

Subsequently, the dating of the cellar as belonging to a period older than the reign of Matei Basarab was vehemently challenged (Cantacuzino, Cristocea, Mavrodin, Trîmbaciu, 1981, B, 26; Cantacuzino, 2000, 108–109; Cantacuzino, Rădulescu, Trîmbaciu, 2007, 96; Cantacuzino, 2010, 11), being argued, among other things, that it is in fact a unitary construction, the brick

and mortar being similar, the level of the cellar is one meter higher than that of the 14th-century building, that in terms of dating with the help of graves, in reality, the north side of the cellar cuts off one of these graves, etc. (Cantacuzino, Popa, 1978, 74–75).

A series of excavations carried out between 1975 and 1977 reached all four sides of the church in six places, the conclusion being that the church built by Matei Basarab had been constructed on the foundations of the original church that was destroyed by the 1928 earthquake (Cantacuzino, 1998, XVII / 2, 432), the reconstruction being made by Matei Basarab in compliance with the old plan of the ruined church (Chihaia, 1974, 209), with a small exception represented by the enlargement of the western part, by 4.60 m, in the 17th century (Cantacuzino, 1984, 200).

In addition to this aspect of preserving the foundations, in terms of trying to identify the constructive elements existing during Neacşu's time, the same research that involved the opening of an impressive number of archaeological sections brought a number of additions. Thus, a layer from parallelepiped stone blocks shaped from the exterior facing has been preserved since the middle of the 14th century, but also the surrounding wall and the mound with a defence ditch that surrounded the old church on its south side (Cantacuzino, Cristocea, Mavrodin, Trîmbaciu, 1981, B, 25).

An extremely interesting theory regarding the usefulness of the mound (Chihaia, 1974, p. 258), in the sense that the interior would have been filled and levelled, is supported by the description of an eyewitness. Thus, in his 1640 visit to Wallachia, and obviously to Câmpulung, Petru Bogdan Bakšić, who shortly after this trip would become bishop of Sofia and later, archbishop of Bulgaria, transmits the following information to us: "[...] and raised around the monastery as a kind of fortress of large beams surrounding it with 12 bastions all around; so that it is very well strengthened, and must be filled with earth from within, as it is not yet ready" (Holban, 1973, 211–212).

Although research in 1981 led to valuable information on the buildings of the ensemble (Catacuzino, Cristocea, Trîmbaciu 1982, 51), traces from the moment of arranging the mound were to be captured in that year's archaeological research campaign (Cantacuzino, Cristocea, Trîmbaciu, 1986, 290), but without bringing new data on this element of defensive construction. The archaeological research in 1982 would also provide additional data. Along with a series of masonry elements for which no satisfactory explanation could be provided, a number of 15 tombs dating from the end of the 14th century to the 16th century were discovered, one of the three coins discovered representing a 16th-century aspron (*Cantacuzino, Cristocea, Trîmbaciu,* 1993, *523–524).*

The old church survives till these days, in one way or another, also thanks

to the fact that the materials from the old construction were used to a large extent in the reconstructions that took place (Cantacuzino, Cristocea, Mavrodin, Trîmbaciu 1981, B, 25).

Regarding the other constructive elements of the ensemble, the archaeological researches brought valuable information. Thus, a stone-made enclosure wall of a thickness of about 0.70 m was identified on the north, west and south sides, at a distance comprised between 12 and 14 m from the church (Cantacuzino, Cristocea, Mavrodin, Trimbaciu, 1981, B, 25). This wall should not be taken for the current wall, built in 1712, which, moreover, also surrounded a larger area (Cantacuzino, Cristocea, Mavrodin, Trîmbaciu, 1981, B, 27).

The fortification elements, dated as we saw to the middle of the 14th century, were identified on the south side. The mound made of boulders, earth and gravel, but which also showed traces of wood, had a width of 8–8.8 m and a maximum current height of 1.4 m, it being fitted out on the outside, at a distance of 2–2.5 m, with a ditch more than 4.50 m wide and which seems to have been over 2 m deep (Cantacuzino, Cristocea, Mavrodin, Trîmbaciu, 1981, B, 25, Cantacuzino, 2001–2003, 41).

Regardless of the initial functionality of the place of worship, when it is assumed to have had the role of a princely church (Cantacuzino, 1981, A, 135), being from the beginning an Orthodox church (Moisescu, 1998, 49), it is clear that the church activity was allotted to the city during the 16th century, as evidenced by the large number of tombs in that period (Cantacuziono, 1998, XVII / 2, 437).

A special importance of the religious edifice is the fact that it represents a real landmark of identifying the location of the royal court that must have existed in the area. The opinions according to which the royal court must have been in the immediate vicinity of the church are perfectly grounded (Sinigalia, 2000, 61–62), even if these courts could no longer be identified on the spot, the religious building clearly indicates the area they were situated in.

Things are far from clear, especially since the research is not or cannot be completed exhaustively. A conclusive example is the discovery of an imposing building with a brick floor whose 1 m thick walls “enter” under the “Dinicu Golescu” High School building (Cantacuzino, 2001–2003, 48–51; Cantacuzino, Trîmbaciu, 2001, 64- 65). Obviously, the works occasioned for the construction of the high school led to significant destructions of the medieval ensemble. However, with the resumption of archaeological research campaigns, respectively between 2000–2005, a series of ceramic elements, but especially a coin from Vladislav I from 1442, which was discovered 4 cm above the pavement of the building, a coin that was still in circulation in the 15th century (Cantacuzino, Rădulescu, Trîmbaciu, 2007, 99–101) could provide clues

that would place the construction even during the life of Master Neacşu. As precious as the discovery is, it must still be treated with some reservations, as long as the coin could have come from the levelling of the land, a fact also noticed by the authors of the excavations.

The moment and the way in which the existing church would cease its existence during Neacşu's time is detailed in a precious document issued by Matei Basarab on April 10, 1647 which records the following: "Care zidire trecut-au vreme de destui ani, până când vecheciunea şi cutremurul pământului cuprinzând-o de toate părțile cu crăpătură, surupatu-s-au şi s-au risipit până la pământ, purtând într-acea vreme cursul anilor 1628. Iar după surparea ei, zăcut-au piatra grămadă până la 7 ani. Atunci ştiind noi sfărâmarea bisericii [...] acea grămadă de petre ce zăcea d-asupra temeliei dând-o în lături până în fața pământului, pre aceeaşi temelie cu aceleaşi pietre a o zidi început-am în cursul anilor 1635 şi cu ajutorul lui Dumnezeu şi cu sprijineala preacuratei, svârşitu-o-am în văleat 1638..." (Părnuță, 1999, 204–205) (translator's note: "many years have passed since its bricklaying until the moment when its old age and earthquakes made cracks embrace it on all sides, then it collapsed and it was scattered to the ground, bearing at that time the course of the years 1628. And after its collapse, the pile of stone lied there for up to 7 years. Then, knowing that the church had fallen down [...] that pile of stones that lay on the foundation, pushing it aside to the ground, on the same foundation with the same stones, we began to build it during the years 1635 and with the help of God and with the support of the Immaculate, we ended it in 1638...").

Bibliographical references

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, POPA, Victor, 1978: "Cercetarea și restaurarea unei case din ansamblul fostei curți domnești din Câmpulung", în *Revista muzeelor și monumentelor – Monumente istorice și de artă*, an. XLVII, tom. 1, București, pp. 71–76.

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, 1981, A: "Probleme ale secolelor XIII-XIV la Câmpulung și cercetările arheologice de la fosta curte domnească", în *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie*, tom. 32, nr. 1, București, pp. 131–139.

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, CRISTOCEA, Spiridon, MAVRODIN, T., TRÎMBACIU, Ștefan, 1981, B: "Principalele rezultate ale cercetărilor arheologice de la fosta curte domnească din Câmpulung din anii 1975–1977", în *Studii și comunicări. Muzeul Câmpulung Muscel*, vol. 1, Câmpulung, pp. 23–29.

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, CRISTOCEA, Spiridon, TRÎMBACIU, Ștefan, 1982: „O mărturie arheologică privind viața economică a Câmpulungului medieval", în *Studii și comunicări. Muzeul Câmpulung Muscel*, vol. 2, Câmpulung, pp. 51–54.

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, 1984: "Unele probleme privind cercetările arheologice de la Câmpulung", în *Cercetări arheologice,* vol. VII, București, Muzeul Național de Istorie, pp. 199–206.

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, CRISTOCEA, Spiridon, TRÎMBACIU, Ștefan, 1986: "Cercetări arheologice în zona fostei curți domnești din Câmpulung", în *Materiale și cercetări arheologice. A XVI-a sesiune anuală de rapoarte. Vaslui 1982,* București, pp. 287–290.

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, CRISTOCEA, Spiridon, TRÎMBACIU, Ștefan, 1993: "Cercetări arheologice din zona fostei curți domnești din Câmpulung, jud. Argeș", în *Materiale și cercetări arheologice. A XVII-a sesiune anuală de rapoarte. Ploiești 1983,* Partea a II – a, București, Editura Academiei, pp. 517–524.

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, 1998: "Unele aspecte ale culturii urbane medievale la Câmpulung (Muscel)" în *Cercetări istorice,* XII/2, Iași, pp. 425–438.

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, 2000: "Probleme ale cercetării vechii reședințe domnești din Câmpulung", în *Argessis. Studii și comunicări,* vol. IX, Pitești, pp. 107–115.

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, TRÎMBACIU, Ștefan, 2001: "Câmpulung, jud. Argeș. Punct: Mănăstirea Negru Vodă", în *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România.Campania 2000, a XXXV – a sesiune națională de rapoarte arheologice, Suceava,* pp. 64–65.

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, 2001–2003: "Vestigii din zona vechii reședințe voievodale de la Câmpulung", în*Revista Monumentelor Istorice,* an. LXXII, nr. 1, tom. 1, Institutul Național al Monumentelor Istorice, pp. 41–58.

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, RĂDULESCU, Maria, Venera, TRÂMBACIU, Ștefan, 2007: "Cercetări arheologice la Câmpulung, în zona vechii reședințe domnești (2000–2005)", în *Materiale și cercetări arheologice,* (Serie nouã), N°2 2000–2006. pp. 95–141.

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, 2010: "În căutarea urmelor reședinței domnești de la Câmpulung", în *Argesis. Studii și comunicări,* seria Istorie, TOM XIX, Pitești, Editura Ordessos, pp. 9–20.

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, 2011: Începuturile orașului Câmpulung și curtea domnească. Aspecte ale civilizației urbane la Câmpulung, București, Editura Academiei Române.

CHIHAIA, Pavel, 1961: "Date în legătură cu biserica vechii curți domnești din Câmpulung-Muscel", în *Biserica ortodoxă Română. Buletinul oficial al Patriarhiei Române,* nr. 11–12, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune Ortodoxă, pp. 1033–1049.

CHIHAIA, Pavel, 1974: *Din cetățile de scaun ale Țării Românești,* București, Editura Meridiane.

DRĂGHICEANU, Virgil, 1964: "Despre mânăstirea Câmpulung. Un document inedit: jurnalul săpăturii făcute de Comisia Monumentelor Istorice în 1924", în *Biserica ortodoxă Română. Buletinul ofocial al Patriarhiei Române,* nr. 3–4, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune Ortodoxă, pp. 284–335.

HOLBAN, Maria, BULGARU, Dersca, Alexandrescu, CERNOVODEANU, Paul, 1973: *Călători străini despre Țările Române,* vol. V, București, Editura Științifică.
IONESCU, Grigore, 1937: *Istoria arhitecturii Românești din cele mai vechi timpuri până la 1900,* București, Editura Cartea Românească.
IONESCU, Grigore, 1963: *Istoria Arhitecturii în România,*Vol. I, București, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române.
MĂNDESCU, Dragoș, 2009: „Începuturile cercetărilor arheologice în Argeș și Muscel (sec. XII-XIX)", în *Argessis. Studii și comunicări,* tom. XVIII, Pitești, Editura Ordessos, pp. 53–66.
MÎRȚU, Flaminiu, 1965: "Știri noi asupra complexului istoric al mănăstirii și al curții domnești din Câmpulung-Muscel", în *Biserica ortodoxă Română. Buletinul oficial al Patriarhiei Române,* nr. 11–12, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune Ortodoxă, pp. 1032–1042.
MOISESCU, Cristian, 1998: "Noi puncte de vedere asupra ipostazelor dispărutei biserici domnești Negru Vodă din Câmpulung-Muscel" în *Revista monumentelor istorice,* tom. 1–2, București, Direcția Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor și Siturilor Istorice, pp. 49–61.
MOISESCU, Cristian, 2001: *Arhitectura românească veche,* vol. I, București, Editura Meridiane.
PĂRNUȚĂ, Gheorghe, TRÂMBACIU, Ștefan, 1999: *Documente și inscripții privind istoria orașului Câmpulung-Muscel,* vol. I, București, Editura Semne.
SINIGALIA, Tereza, 2000: *Arhitectura civilă de zid din Țara Românească în secolele XIV-XVIII*, București, Editura Vremea.
TEODORESCU, Răzvan, 1976: *Un mileniu de artă la Dunărea de Jos (400–1400),* București, Editura Meridiane.

* * *

Bărăția (fig. 3), the parish church of the Saxons, who are credited with its construction (Oprescu, Călin, Măndescu, Vasiloiu, 2007, 18), is a Romanesque-Gothic monument dedicated to Saint James the Great, built towards the end of the 13th century and demolished at the end the 18th century, which preserves today only the Gothic choir that was rebuilt in 1427 (Moisescu, 2001, 61). The latter had a size of 14.5 × 10.5 m, it being connected to the nave by a pre-existing triumphal arch (Moisescu, 2001, 150).

The famous tombstone from 1300 of the Count *Laurencius de Longo Campo* is of special importance, especially as a dating element. Obviously, the church in which he was buried must be older than the year of his death, so somewhere around the 13th century.

During the 16th century the church was functional and in good condition, as evidenced on the one hand by the 1525 inscription on the bell, but also by

the mentions preserved in the document about its condition, as it happens with the one from 1581 (Chihaia, 1974, 308).

Although today Bărăția represents an ensemble of which the tower and the parish house are still part, only the church "cut and reduced to the dimensions of the altar" (Balş, 1968, 1) and only elements of it represent the edifice that existed during Master Neacşu's time, both the tower and the parish house being built at a later moment.

The archaeological research carried out here is likely to make a number of important contributions to the appearance of the worship place during Master Neacşu's time. Thus, the choir we mentioned before should not be taken for the one that keeps in the walls the arch ribs that formed the stone vaults of the old roof (Balş, 1969, 9). Basically, the old choir that is the object of our reconstruction was identified under the floor of the ribbed choir mentioned earlier. The latter was smaller, pentagonal in shape, with the walls of the dismantled foundation provided with buttresses at the corners (Balş, 1969, 11).

The importance of this ensemble also lies in the analysis of numismatic discoveries, especially from the 15th–16th centuries, a fact demonstrated by the discovery of a very rare coin from Vlad Dracul's time, or by that of the Gdansk grosz (Dumitrache, 2013–2014, 95 –96). Also, the term *Bărăție* used almost unanimously in the literature is considered inappropriate when considering the constructive ensemble before 1639 when the Franciscans took over the church from the Saxons (Ciocîltan, 2015, 178). The ensemble here was to be set on fire by the Turks in 1737, it being rebuilt in 1760 (Constantinescu, 2017, 128), its current form being obtained as a result of the restoration carried out between 1963–1965 (Constantinescu, 2011, 102; Popescu-Argeşel, 2000, 74).

Bibliographical references

BALŞ, Ştefan, 1968: *Ansamblul Bărăției din Câmpulung,* Bucureşti, Editura Meridiane.

BALŞ, Ştefan, 1969: "Restaurarea Bărăției din Câmpulung Muscel, în *Monumente istorice. Studii şi lucrări de restaurare,* nr. 1, Comitetul de Stat pentru Construcții, Arhitectură şi Sistematizare. Direcția Monumentelor Istorice, pp. 7–26.

CHIHAIA, Pavel, 1974: *Din cetățile de scaun ale Țării Româneşti,* Bucureşti, Editura Meridiane.

CIOCÎLTAN, Alexandru, 2015: *Comunitățile germane la sud de Carpați în Evul Mediu (secolele XIII-XVIII),* Brăila, Editura Istros.

CONSTANTINESCU, Grigore, 2011: *Argeşul monumental,* Piteşti, Editura Alean a Centrului Județean pentru Conservarea şi Promovarea Culturii Tradiționale Argeş.

CONSTANTINESCU, Grigore, 2017: *Câmpulung-Muscel. Ansamblul medieval-modern,* Piteşti, https://en.calameo.com/read/0012181716e43fad07183, accesat la data de 21.04.2021.

DUMITRACHE, Paul, 2013–2014: "Moneda de calcul şi moneda în circulaţia curentă la Câmpulung, de la Vlad Dracul şi până la Regulamentul Organic. Ipoteze în lumina descoperirilor monetare rezultate din săpăturile arheologice de la complexul arhitectural Bărăţia", în *Cercetări numismatice,* XIX-XX, Bucureşti, pp. 93–107.
MOISESCU, Cristian, 2001: *Arhitectura românească veche,* vol. I, Bucureşti, Editura Meridiane.
OPRESCU, Carmen, CĂLIN, Gerard, MĂNDESCU, Dragoş, VASILOIU, Ionuţ, 2007: "Ansamblul bisericii catolice Sfântul Iacob – Bărăţia din Câmpulung-Muscel", în *IANUS. Metode şi tehnici avansate de conservare şi reconstrucţie digitală pentru patrimoniul cultural-istoric mobil,* nr. 12, Bucureşti, Fundaţia Har, pp. 18–43.
POPESCU-ARGEŞEL, Ion, 2000: *Mănăstirile şi bisericile din Muscel la cumpăna dintre milenii,* Bucureşti, Editura Fundaţiei „România de Mâine".

* * *

Cloaşterul (name given by the locals to the Catholic monastery, now extinct), was built in 1345 with the help of Saxon craftsmen from Transylvania by Nicolae Alexandru, most likely for his Catholic wife, Clara (Neagoe, 2012, 129).

If, today, Cloaşterul is known for the multitude of its constructive elements, reused for the construction of a significant number of buildings in Câmpulung, during its time it was famous for the relics it owned, which led to the shaping of an image of a sacred place in which miracles happen (Neagoe, 2008, 88).

Both the complex and the church dedicated to Saint Elizabeth, without the knowledge of Matei Basarab, end up being demolished between 1646–1647 by the abbot Melehie, who does this as he aims to obtain building materials in order to build the bell tower at the entrance to the Câmpulung monastery (Chihaia, 1974, 259, 315). With building materials from Cloaşterul as well, the same abbot Melehie built, to the northeast of the church, a quadrilateral building in which there were a series of shops on the first level and an inn on the second (Chihaia, 1974, 262), but the construction elements were used to erect several buildings. This is the case of the southern wall of the Fundeni church or that of the wall of the exonartex added to the church of St. George – Olari (Cantacuzino, 2001–2003, 53).

Just one year after the demolition of the Cloaşterul, in 1648, the great representative of the Catholics, and a good connoisseur of the realities of Wallachia, after visiting these lands countless times between 1640–1670 (Ligor, 1980, 260), Petru Bogdan Bakšić would leave us the following testimony about the sad event: "A strange thing happened to this church last year. In this city of Câmpulung there is a monastery built in antiquity by the rulers of the past and completely rebuilt by the ruler of today, even built again; and wanting the

abbot of that monastery to build a tower or rather a bell tower, he ordered the Greek abbot of his kind to demolish that church of St. Elizabeth and had it demolished to its foundations and took all that material and he had the said tower built with him at the monastery of the ruler [...]. These are what these Catholics told me and then I saw the demolished church with my own eyes [...]" *(Holban, Bulgaru, Cernovodeanu, 1973, 265–266).*

The monastery that had belonged to both Dominicans and Franciscans (Mulțescu, 2000, 117) had a size of 33 × 10m (Chihaia, 1974, 309), its proposed moment of construction being the year 1345 and the reasoning of its importance in the initial period being centred on Clara, the Catholic wife of Prince Nicolae Alexandru who lived here (Chihaia, 1974, 311–312).

Important details regarding the appearance of the old building could be provided as a result of the archaeological excavations carried out by Virgil Drăghiceanu between November 4–10, 1924. On the occasion of these researches there were identified constructive elements of the altar, including traces of its frescoes, but especially the foundation wall with a thickness of 1.1 m, as well as a series of tombs (Drăghiceanu, 1964, 328).

The same research also provided data on the shape of Cloaşterul. It had three naves, the lateral ones having a length of 37 m and a width of 3 m, while the central nave had a length of 38.40 m and a width of 15 m (Drăghiceanu, 1964, 328).

From the research carried out, the existence of two construction phases was proposed: one around 1345 belonging to the Dominican order and one from the last quarter of the 15th century when the church was rebuilt by Franciscan monks (Chihaia, 1974, 316).

As the monument disappeared, apart from the few mentions of the time, new data about Cloaşterul could be obtained only as a result of archaeological research. However, this happened sporadically, usually only through surveys, and, in general, forced by some construction works that were carried out on the site of Cloaşterul. Thus, it must be mentioned here that the site was researched by Grigore Tocilescu, by Virgil Drăghiceanu between 1926–1927, but also in 1958 when singular constructive or masonry elements were discovered, or tombs belonging to the necropolis (Barnea, Lăzărescu, 1962, 65–67).

Bibliographical references

BARNEA, Ion, LĂZĂRESCU, Emil, 1962: "Sondajul de la Câmpulung, punctul Cloaşter", în *Materiale și cercetări arheologice,* vol. VIII, Editura Academiei, pp. 65–72.

CANTACUZINO, I. Gheorghe, 2001–2003: "Vestigii din zona vechii reședințe voievodale de la Câmpulung", în *Revista Monumentelor Istorice*, an. LXXII, nr. 1, tom. 1, Institutul Național al Monumentelor Istorice, pp. 41–58.

CHIHAIA, Pavel, 1974: *Din cetățile de scaun ale Țării Românești,* București, Editura Meridiane

DRĂGHICEANU, Virgil, 1964: "Despre mânăstirea Câmpulung. Un document inedit: jurnalul săpăturii făcute de Comisia Monumentelor Istorice în 1924", în *Biserica Ortodoxă Română. Buletinul oficial al Patriarhiei Române,* nr. 3–4, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune Ortodoxă, pp. 284–335.

HOLBAN, Maria, BULGARU, Dersca, Alexandrescu, CERNOVODEANU, Paul, 1973: *Călători străini despre Țările Române,* vol. V, București, Editura Științifică.

LIGOR, Alexandru, 1980: „Orașele Câmpulung, Curtea de Argeș și Pitești văzute de călători străini la mijlocul secolului al XVII – lea", în *Argessis. Studii și comunicări,* V, Pitești, pp. 260–265.

MULȚESCU, Maria, MULȚESCU, Alexandru, 2000: „Cloașterul Câmpulungean", în *Argessis.Studii și comunicări,* tom. IX, Pitești, Muzeul Județean Argeș, pp. 117–140.

NEAGOE, Claudiu, 2008: "Considerații privind raporturile dintre comunitatea catolică și cea ortodoxă din Câmpulung Muscel în secolele XIII-XIV", în *Argessis. Studii și comunicări,* tom. XVII, Pitești, Editura Ordessos, pp. 81–90.

NEAGOE, Claudiu, 2012: *Câmpulungul medieval și premodern,* București, Editura Ars Docendi.

* * *

Biserica Fundeni (**The Fundeni Church**) – dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas, with two phases of construction (15^{th}/17^{th} centuries). The current place of worship dates from the second half of the 17^{th} century, as evidenced by archaeological research conducted here by Flaminiu Mîrtzu, Spiridon Cristocea and Adrian Băjan (Cristocea, Mîrtzu, Băjan, 2005, 223–229). The excavations also revealed that we are dealing with a church built over an older building, dated to the last quarter of the 15^{th} century. Fundeni I, as the place was originally called, had a rectangular plan, with a detached apse, being composed only of the nave and altar, these being superimposed by the current construction (Cristocea, Mîrtzu, Băjan, 2005, 226; Cantacuzino, 2006, p. 1). The Fundeni II Church was founded after the disappearance of Cloaşterul, around 1647, as evidenced by a window frame that may have been reused for masonry in the apse of the altar (Cristocea, Mîrtzu, Băjan, 2005, 226). The 10 tombs researched in the narthex of the current church belong to the interval of the 15^{th}–17^{th} centuries and are similar to those inventoried in the necropolis of the church, located in the immediate vicinity (Cristocea, Mîrtzu, Băjan, 2005, 227–228). From the tomb inventory we mention a

series of coins from Matei Corvin (1458–1490) and Baiazid II (1481–1512), as well as glass vessels (Mîrtzu, 1995, pp. 45–48; Mănucu-Adameşteanu, 2005, 203, 206), objects of dress and adornment that can be chronologically classified as belonging to the 15th–17th centuries.

Unfortunately, the founders of the place are not known, but most likely they are part of the Fundeni family, on whose estate the church was built (http://ran.cimec.ro/sel.asp?descript=campulung-municipiul-campulung-arges-biserica-fundeni-si-necropola-medievala-de-la-campulung-cod-sit-ran–13506.04), what is certain is that the inscriptions on a series of tombstones indicate the years 7066 (1558), 7084 (1576), 7130 (1622) (Răuțescu, 2009, 238–239; Cantacuzino, 2006, 1), all leading us to the idea that the place of worship existed even in the time of Master Neacșu.

The church dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas, located in the south-western part of Câmpulung, on the upper terrace of the Târgului river, underwent a new conversion in 1817–1819, when an open porch was attached to it on the west side, to later undergo major repairs in 1856 and 1930, the latter under the care of the Historical Monuments Commission (Cantacuzino, 2002, 62–65; Constatinescu, https://en.calameo.com/read/00121817119a3372374fb; Cristocea, Mîrtzu, Băjan, 2005, 229).

Even though it was proposed for demolition at the beginning of the 20th century since it was considered uninteresting, it had no inscription, its founders were not known and it had no historical importance, note must be taken that from the painting perspective, three separate stages/styles can be distinguished. The first stage preserves the imprint of the Brâncoveanu era and the name of *Hranit the painter*, which is preserved in the altar. The second stage, preserved in the narthex, dated 1768, preserves the name of the painter *Radu the painter*. The last intervention dates back to the early 19th century, most likely coinciding with the transformations of 1817–1819.

Bibliographical references

CRISTOCEA, Spiridon, MÎRTZU, Flaminiu, BĂJAN, Adrian, 1996: "Câmpulung-Muscel, județul Argeş. Biserica Fundeni", în *Situri arheologice cercetate în perioada 1983–1992*, Brăila, 1996, pp. 30.

CRISTOCEA, Spiridon, MÎRTZU, Flaminiu, BĂJAN, Adrian, 2005: "Biserica Fundeni din Câmplung, județul Argeş", în *Argessis. Studii şi comunicări*, tom. XIV, Piteşti, pp. 225–230.

CANTACUZINO, Gheorghe, I, 2002: *Câmpulung. Vechi monumente şi biserici*, Editura Vremea, Bucureşti.

CANTACUZINO, Gheorghe, I, 2006: *Săpături arheologice la monumente din*

Câmpulung, comunicare prezentată la A.R.A, 7 aprilie 2006 http://www.simpara.ro/ara7/a7_01_10.htm
RĂUȚESCU, Ioan, 2009: *Câmplung-Muscel. Monografie istorică*, Editura Ars Docendi.
CONSTANTINESCU, Grigore: *Biserica Fundeni din Câmpulung Muscel*, pp. 5–21 https://en.calameo.com/read/
00121817119a3372374fb
MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU, Gheorghe, 2005: „Vase din sticlă descoperite în complexe funerare din secolele XV-XIX", în *Cercetări arheologice în București*, VI, pp. 193–234.
MÎRTZU, Flaminiu, 1995: "Ecouri argeșen nevalorificate: vasele funerare medievale din sticlă", în *Argessis. Studii şi comunicări*, tom. VII, Piteşti, pp. 45–51.
(http://ran.cimec.ro/sel.asp?descript=campulung-municipiul-campulung-arges-biserica-fundeni-si-necropola-medievala-de-la-campulung-cod-sit-ran–13506.04

* * *

The Church dedicated to St. Elijah from Câmpulung connects part of its history with that of the *Sbor* (assembly), the annual fair, which was organized in this city, right on the hill near the place of worship, at least until the time of Matei Basarab (Aricescu, 2007, 133–134), because later, starting with the 17th century, it was to be divided into several places, only the fish and food fair taking place at St. Elijah (Neagoe, 2009, 125).

The annual fair held near St. Elijah's Day was part of the becoming and evolution of Câmpulung, since the 15th century (Neagoe, Boboc, 2007, 127–129), where merchants from the Danube ports met with those from Transylvania (Mârțu, 1974, 36; Neagoe, Mocanu, 2005, 364–365; Manolescu, 1957, 117–204.)

The archaeological research carried out by Flaminiu Mîrtzu in 1972 revealed that at least a wooden church was built here in the second half of the 15th century. Unfortunately, we do not benefit from the plans of this first place or from other additional data, the researches from 1972 not yet seeing the light of day, the only data about them coming from the pages written by Flaminiu Mîrtzu in the 1974 monograph of Gheorghe Pârnuță (Pârnuță, Câmpulung, 1974, 9–44, 49–76, 86–95, 107–117; Cantacuzino, 2006, nota 49).

This first religious edifice would have had, according to some opinions, the patron saint of the Holy Trinity (Popescu-Argeşel, 2000, 88; Neagoe, 2009, 124, note 31), so that later on, "With the good will of the Father and with the help of the Son and with the artistry of the Holy Spirit (...) in the name of the Holy Trinity and of our holy father Nicolae, in the days of I, Alexandru, son of Radul voivod, of prayer to God, of Master Ghinea Mustachi and with the toil of Iane the ecclesiastic, March 1, 7134 (1626)", another church dedicated to St. Nicholas could be built here (Constantinescu, 5–21). After this moment,

as it appears from the text of the inscriptions in the church narthex, the edifice underwent numerous alterations: 1790, 1891, 1929–1930, 1969–1970 (Cantacuzino, 2006). Today's church has a three-cusped plan with polygonal side apses, consisting of an altar, nave, narthex and porch, the latter also supporting the bell tower. The old painting from the 17th century is no longer preserved, it is covered by that of 1890, in neo-Byzantine style, conceived and made by Belizarie Paraschivescu (Cantacuzino, 2011, 24, 61–64).

Ion Răuțescu found that, in 1810, the church was also dedicated to St. Elijah (Răuțescu, 2009, 260; Neagoe, 2009, 124) which means that, at some point along time, the church was associated with the Saint Prophet who patronized the Muscelean fair as its patron.

During Master Neacşu's time, our church was made of wood, just like many other buildings of this kind in the Romanian Countries, linking its history to that of *St. Elijah's Sbor*.

Bibliographical references

ARICESCU, C. D., 2007: *Istoria Câmpulungului, prima rezidență a României*, Editura Ars Docendi, Bucureşti.

CANTACUZINO, Gheorghe, I, 2006: *Săpături arheologice la monumente din Câmpulung*, comunicare prezentată la A.R.A, 7 aprilie 2006, http://www.simpara.ro/ara7/a7_01_10.htm

CANTACUZIONO, Gheorghe, I, 2011: Începuturile oraşului C*âmpulung şi curtea domnească. Aspecte ale civilizației urbane la Câmpulung*, Editura Academiei Române, Bucureşti.

CONSTANTINESCU, Grigore: *Biserica SF. Ilie din Câmpulung Muscel*, pp. 5–21 https://en.calameo.com/read/0012181713b15a0a41b19

MANOLESCU, Radu, 1957: "Schimbul de mărfuri dintre Țara Românească şi Braşov în prima jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea", în *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie*, vol. II, pp. 117–204.

MÎRTZU, Flaminiu, 1974: "Bâlciul, târg internațional", în *Câmpulung Muscel, ieri şi azi. Istoria oraşului*, vol. coord. de Gheorghe Pârnuță, Tipografia Universității din Bucureşti, Câmpulung-Muscel.

NEAGOE, Claudiu, 2005: "Negustori şi slujbaşi otomani la Câmpulung în secolele XVI-XVIII", în *Argesis. Studii şi comunicări*, tom. XIV, Piteşti, pp. 363–368.

NEAGOE, Claudiu, MOCANU, Valentin, 2009: "Considerații noi privitoare la Bâlciul sau «Sborul de la Sf. Ilie»", în *Argesis. Studii şi comunicări*, XVIII, pp. 121–127.

POPESCU-ARGEŞEL, Ion, 2000: *Mănăstirile şi bisericile din Muscel la cumpăna dintre milenii*, Editura Fundației România de Mâine, Bucureşti.

RĂUȚESCU, IOAN, 2009: *Câmpulung Muscel. Monografie istorică,* Editura Ars Docendi, Bucureşti.

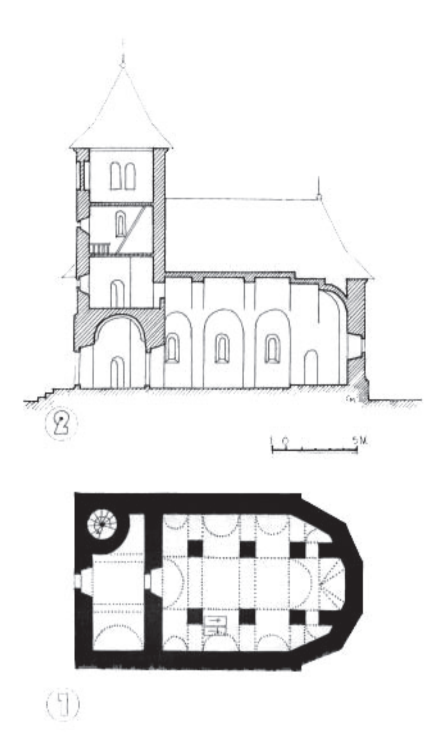


Fig. 1 Negru Vodă Monastery Church in the initial construction phase. Plan and section restored (Moisescu, 2001, 65)

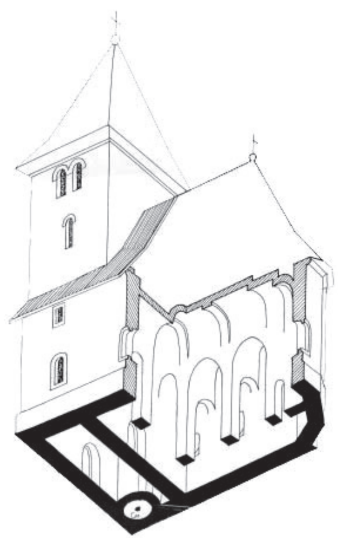


Fig. 2 Câmpulung-Muscel. Biserica Domnească Negru Vodă (Princely Church Negru Vodă). Restoration (Moisescu, 2001, 66)

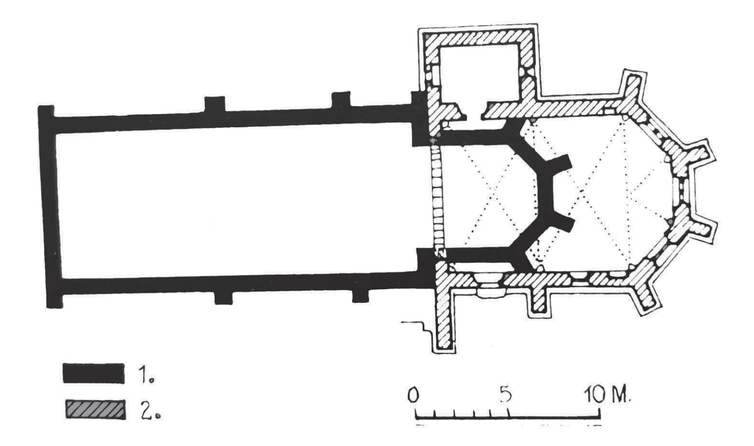


Fig. 3 Câmpulung Muscel. Choir of the Catholic Church of St. James the Great. Plan: 1. 13th century; 2. 1427 (Moisescu 2001, 61)

On the Catholic Community in Câmpulung. Demographic and Social Aspects (the 13th–16th Centuries)

Mariana-Paula Limbălată

("Romanians and Romania in the European context, 14th–20th centuries" Master's programme, Faculty of Theology, Letters, History and Arts, University of Pitești)

Long before the founding of Wallachia, the population of Câmpulung was composed of two large ethnic and denominational communities: on the one hand the old Romanian community, of Orthodox denomination, on the other hand a newer community, of Catholic denomination, consisting of Saxon and Hungarian ethnic elements (Neagoe, 2012, 101), coming from over the mountains, from Transylvania, a fact recorded, in the 17th century, by *Letopisețul Cantacuzinesc* (*The Cantacuzin Chronicle*) (*Istoria*, 1960, 2).

It is difficult to state with certainty the moment when these Saxon settlers came from the Brașov region to Câmpulung (Albu, 2009, 127), but certain historians consider that this moment should be placed towards the end of the 13th century (Căprăroiu, 2008, 53; Ciocîltan, 2011, 444–445).

Regarding the numerical situation of the Saxon population of Catholic denomination, at the beginning of the history of Câmpulung, historians issued several hypotheses, based on deductions considered logical, in the absence of historical sources that could provide concrete demographical data. For example, C.D. Aricescu, who wrote the first history of Câmpulung (1855–1856), showed that the number of Saxons of Catholic denomination here would have been much smaller, at least until around 1400, compared to that of the Romanians of Orthodox confession (Aricescu, 2007, 105–106). At the end of the last century, Flaminiu Mârțu expressed the opinion according to which the Saxon (Catholic) population would have represented only 5% of the total population of Câmpulung (Mârțu, 1982, 20).

Rather recently, however, a researcher from the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History in Bucharest, Alexandru Ciocîltan, was fully confident that there

is not the slightest evidence of a Romanian presence in Câmpulung, before 1343–1344, when the voivode Nicolae Alexandru built a royal court in the southern part of the city" (Ciocîltan, 2015, 71). There is, however, a historical source from the premodern period that proves the exact opposite: from a *Franciscan Chronicle*, written around 1764 by a certain Blasius Kleiner, we find out that, since the beginnings of the city of Câmpulung, the number of Catholic Saxons would have been higher than that of the Orthodox Romanians: "The first inhabitants of this fair were Catholic Saxons mixed with Vlachs, but in number the Saxons outnumbered the Wallachians." (Georgescu, 2000, 254). Therefore, Alexandru Ciocîltan's statement can be at most considered an assumption.

* * *

Unfortunately, by the end of the 16th century, the historical sources do not provide us with information about the numerical, ethnic and confessional structure of the city of Câmpulung. It was only in 1581 when a Franciscan monk, originally from the island of Chios, Jeronim (Hieronimus) Arsengo, would record, in his travel notes, the existence, in Câmpulung, of 900 houses belonging to the Romanians and only 250 houses to the "400 of souls" of Catholics (*Călători*, II, 1970, 510). If we apply the demographic multiplier 4 (Murgescu, 1999, 22), it results that at the end of the 16th century the city of Câmpulung had about 4000 inhabitants, the Romanian population being without doubt the majority (Neagoe, 2004, 210). According to certain opinions, Câmpulung would have counted between 4500 (Hurdubețiu, Mârțu, 1968, 37) and 4750 inhabitants (Cernovodeanu, 1973, 41–42). Another traveller, Giovanni Botero, would record, in 1596, that in Câmpulung there were only 900 houses left, of which 40 belonged to the Catholic Saxons (*Călători*, IV, 1972, 576). Therefore, Câmpulung had about 3600 inhabitants (Neagoe, 2004 (a), 210; Neagoe, 2012, 24).

Foreign incursions into Wallachia in the 15th century, Ottoman (Gemil, 1991, 108–109, 113–116, 142–143) and Moldavian (Palade, 2014, 116–117, 122–123, 127–128, 158 –159), the epidemics, but especially the tightening of the fiscal obligations towards the princely treasury of Wallachia led to the impoverishment of many Catholics from Câmpulung, some of them leaving for Transylvania (Neagoe and Vasiloiu, 2006, 110). In Sibiu, for example, there are two attested Saxons, former inhabitants of Câmpulung: Peterman in 1439 (Oprea, 2009, 129) and Gaşpar in 1449 (Neagoe and Vasiloiu, 2006, 110).

The 16th century was just as turbulent. Wallachia was threatened with being transformed into an Ottoman province twice, first in 1522 (Neagoe, 2004 (b),

25–27) and then in 1595 (Neagoe, 2015, 425). The plague epidemics of 1552–1554, 1576 and 1592 (Cernovodeanu and Binder, 1993, 51–53, 57–58), as well as the famine epidemics of 1575 (*Călători străini*, II, 1970, 400) and 1595–1596 (*Călători străini*, III, 1971, 532) affected the urban population in Wallachia to quite a large extent. To all this was added the excessive taxation applied by the rulers of Wallachia between 1592–1594 (Ştefănescu, 1972, 86–87).

Therefore, the number of Catholics in the cities of Wallachia decreased considerably by the end of the 16th century. The demographic situation of the Catholic population in Câmpulung is relevant in this regard: if 400 Catholics were recorded in 1581 (*Călători străini*, II, 504), in 1596 there were only 160 (*Călători străini*, II, 509). We also learn about the numerical involution of the Saxon Catholic population in the city of Câmpulung from the late accounts of the *Franciscan Chronicle* (1764): "This fair [Câmpulung] was destroyed many times because of the riots caused by the wars [...]. And because of this, the Saxons gradually retreated to Transylvania; others who remained gradually renounced their language and accepted the customs and language of the Wallachians, at last, on account of the very numerous persecutions and monetary obligations they were subjected to by the Wallachians, gradually abandoned their faith; few of them, the very poor, remained." (Georgescu, 2001, 254–255).

* * *

Regarding the contribution of the German colonists to the founding and development of the city of Câmpulung (most of them, probably coming in the last decades of the 13th century), various opinions have been expressed to this day. Most local historians have argued that the genesis of Câmpulung was an extremely complex local phenomenon, driven and perfected by the contribution of Saxon groups that came here in the last decades of the 13th century (Hurdubeţiu and Mârţu, 1968, 27–28; Oprescu, 1981, 19; Trâmbaciu, 1997, 98). According to other historians, however, the Saxons who came to Câmpulung would have constituted, from the very beginning, a separate community (Rădvan, 2004, 87), with autonomy recognized either by the local voivode, who had his headquarters, most likely, at Cetăţeni- Muscel (Ciocîltan, 2015, 65), or by the Tartars who had come to dominate western Wallachia and southern Moldavia, starting with 1291 (Ciocîltan, 2015, 66). Or, the erection of the church dedicated to St. James the Great (later called Bărăţia), at the end of the 13th century (Oprescu, 2008, 2) would have been, at that time, a symbol of the Saxon autonomy in Câmpulung (Rădvan, 2011, 268).

According to the archaeological research carried out in the years 1963–1965, it seems that Bărăția dates from the second half of the 13th century (Balş, 1969, 9–14; Cantacuzino, 2011, 12–13; Neagoe, 2012, 117). Here, Count Laurențiu would be buried in 1300 (*comes Laurencius de Longo Campo*). His tombstone, preserved today at the church of St. James in Câmpulung (Oprescu and Călin, 2007, 18), was analysed by recognized specialists in our historiography (Lăzărescu, 1957, 109–127; Binder, 1975, 185–188; Măndescu, 2006, 207–213; Albu, 2009, 123–176). The inscription on the tombstone of Count Laurențiu proves as clearly as possible the existence of a Catholic community in Câmpulung at the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century (Răuțescu, 2009, 6).

According to some opinions, the city of Câmpulung would have come under the control of the voivode of Argeş between 1301–1308 (Hurdubețiu and Mârțu, 1968, 30; Mulțescu and Mulțescu, 2002, 463; Vergatti, 2008, 77), and, according to other opinions, after 1330 (Vergatti, 1989, 5; Neagoe, 2012, 112). Undoubtedly, the first Basarabi protected the Catholic community in Câmpulung and supported its economic development (Neagoe, 2007, 109).

Around 1344, in Câmpulung, on the initiative of the voivode Alexandru, the son of Basarab I, and of his wife, Clara of Doboka, there appeared (Chihaia, 1974, 311; Mulțescu şi Mulțescu, 2000, 129; Neagoe, 2014, 55) a second edifice of Catholic worship, namely the church of the monastery of Cloaşterul (*Kloster*), dedicated to St. Elizabeth (Chihaia, 1974, 306). According to some opinions, the erection of the Cloaşterul at Câmpulung would have had the support of the Queen of Hungary, Elisabeta, Carol Robert's wife and the mother of King Louis of Anjou, who gave the new Catholic place of worship holy and precious relics, respectively "St. Andrew's foot" (Popescu, 1998, 3). This was to be confirmed in 1385 by two German pilgrims, Peter Sparnau and Ulrich von Tennstädt, who passed through Câmpulung on their way home (they were returning from Jerusalem) (*Călători străini*, I, 1968, 22).

From the middle of the 14th century until the turn of the 15th towards the 16th century, the two places of worship, Bărăția and Cloaşterul, served the spiritual needs of the Catholic population in Câmpulung.

Shortly after the Lutheran priests took over the Catholic churches in Transylvania, in the middle of the 16th century, the religious service began to be officiated by a Lutheran priest at Bărăția in Câmpulung as well, a fact recorded in 1581 by Jeronim Arsengo, on the occasion of his visit to Câmpulung (*Călători*, II, 1970, 510; Chihaia, 1974, 308). Arsengo records that the Catholic monastery from Câmpulung, passed, after 1525, in the possession of Franciscan monks, according to a late account, starting with 1640 (*Călători străini*, V, 1973, 210), was ruined (*Călători străini*, II, 1970, 510).

* * *

The documentary historical sources from the 15th–16th centuries attest to the fact that the Saxons from Câmpulung were both merchants and craftsmen (Giurescu, 1972, 42).

At the beginning of the 15th century, one could even speak of the existence of a wealthy stratum of the urban population, which constituted a superior social category, similar, in many respects, to the urban patrician in Central and Eastern Europe, especially in Transylvania (Oprea, 209, 127). Therefore, these "good people" or "good and old people", as they are called in the internal documents (Rădvan, 2003, 53–54), traded for large sums of money, owned significant fortunes, held municipal positions (Oprea, 209, 127).

One of the important representatives of the urban patricians from Câmpulung was the merchant Petermann, known in internal documents as Petriman or Petărman. On July 17, 1425, he left all his fortune to the Cozia monastery (*DRH*, B, I, 113, doc. 57). It seems that Petermann's gesture was not exactly disinterested, taking into account the fact that the donor had leased the customs of the road on Olt, "from Genune" (Câineni – Turnu Roşu), in fact an older gift of Mircea cel Bătrân to its foundation, the Cozia monastery, later reinforced by Dan II (*DRH*, B, I, 111, doc. 56; Oprea, 2009, 129). The act in question also provides us with some important clues regarding the social status held by the donor, both in terms of the "grace" he enjoyed before the ruler of Wallachia, Alexandru Aldea (Oprea, 2009, 129), but also through the presence among the witnesses of the will of an extremely influential boyar at that time, Albul Tocsabă (Stoicescu, 1971, 15).

It should be noted that this deed is the first testamentary deed (Slav. *diata*) encountered in the Romanian medieval diplomacy from the 15th–16th centuries (Oprea, 2009, 127). Among the witnesses present at the drafting and signing of this act there were several townspeople from Câmpulung: Cârstian Petru, Hanoş, city councillor, Boțea, Conț Mihal, Iano, Radul Porca, Andriaş, Constandin, Ştefan al lui Han David, Balin, Mateş of Coțani, Antonie Lungul etc. (*DRH*, B, I, 113, doc. 57).

The documents of the time also mention the names of other prominent members of the urban patrician in Câmpulung, such as Gaşpar, recorded in 1427 documents (Iorga, III, 1897, 82; Rădvan, 2003, 56) or his son, Ioan, called "the noble man" (*nobilis viri*) and the "servant" (*servitorem*) of Alexandru Aldea, the ruler of Wallachia (*DRH*, D, I, 1977, 281, doc. 180; Rădvan, 2003, 56).

In the long run, the German presence was extremely beneficial for the evolution of the protourban settlements south of the Carpathians, both economically and commercially, as well as culturally (Poncea, 1999, 224) and artistically (Chihaia, 1974, 306).

Bibliographical references

ALBU Ioan, "Lespedea funerară a comitelui Laurenţiu din Câmpulung", în *Studia varia in honorem proffesoris Ştefan Ştefănescu Octogenarii*, editerunt: Cristian Luca et Ionel Cândea, Bucureşti – Brăila, Editura Academiei Române – Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, p. 123–176.

ARICESCU C. D., 2007: *Istoria Câmpulungului, prima rezidenţă a României*, ediţie îngrijită de Adrian Săvoiu şi Gheorghe Pârnuţă, Bucureşti, Editura Ars Docendi.

BALŞ, Ştefan, 1969: "Restaurarea Bărăţiei din Câmpulung Muscel", în *Monumente Istorice. Studii şi Lucrări de Restaurare*, nr. 3, p. 9–14.

BINDER, Pavel, 1975: "Din nou despre *Comes Laurentius de Longo Campo*", în *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, seria Artă Plastică, XXII, p. 185–188.

CANTACUZINO Gheorghe I., 2011: Începuturile oraşului Câmpulung şi Curtea Domnească. Aspecte ale civilizaţiei urbane la Câmpulung, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române.

Călători străini, I, 1968: volum întocmit de Maria Holban, Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinşifică.

Călători străini, II, 1970: *Călători străini despre ţările Române*, volum întocmit de Maria Holban (redactor responsabil), M. M. Alexandrecsu-Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu, Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică.

Călători străini, III, 1971: Călători străini despre ţările Române, volum întocmit de Maria Holban (redactor responsabil), M. M. Alexandrecsu-Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu, Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică.

CĂPRĂROIU Denis, 2008: "Asupra începuturilor oraşului Câmpulung", în *Historia Urbana*, XVI, nr. 1–2, p. 36–48.

CERNOVODEANU Paul, 1973: *Societatea feudală românească văzută de călătorii străini (sec. XV-XVIII)*, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei.

CERNOVODEANU Paul, BINDER Paul, 1993: *Cavalerii Apocalipsului. Calamităţile naturale din trecutul României (până la 1800)*, Bucureşti, Silex – Casă de Editură, Presă şi Impresariat.

CIOCÎLTAN Alexandru, 2011: "Colonizarea germană la sud de Carpaţi", în *Revista Istorică*, XXII, nr. 5–6, p. 431–460.

CIOCÎLTAN Alexandru, 2015: *Comunităţile germane de la sud de Carpaţi în Evul Mediu (secolele XIII-XVIII)*, Brăila, Editura Istros.

CHIHAIA, Pavel, 1974, *Din cetăţile de scaun ale Ţării Româneşti,* Bucureşti, Editura Meridiane.

DRH, B, 1966: *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, B. Ţara Românească, vol. I (1247–1500), întocmit de Petre P. Panaitescu şi Damaschin Mioc, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei R. S. R.

DRH, D, 1977: *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, D. Relaţii între Ţările Române, vol. I (1222–1456), întocmit de Ştefan Pascu, Constantin Cihodaru, Konrad G. Gündisch, Damaschin Mioc, Viorica Pervain, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei R. S. R.

GEMIl Tahsin, 1991: *Românii şi otomanii în secolele XIV-XVI*, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române.

GEORGESCU George, 2000: "Câmpulung-Muscel în Cronica franciscanilor de la 1764", în *Argesis. Studii şi comunicări*, seria Istorie, tom. IX, p. 253–266.

GIURESCU, Dinu, C.,1973: Ţara Românească în secolele XIV-XV, Bucureşti, Editura Ştiinţifică.

HURDUBEŢIU Ion, Flaminiu Mârţu, 1968: "Câmpulungul-Muscel medieval", în *Studii şi Articole de Istorie*, vol. XI, Bucureşti, p. 27–44.

IORGA, Nicolae, 1897: *Acte şi fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor*, vol. III, Bucureşti.

IORGA, Nicolae, 1901: *Studii şi documente cu privire la istoria românilor,*vol I-II, Bucureşti.

Istoria, 1960: *Istoria Ţării Româneşti 1290–1690. Letopisețul Cantacuzinesc*, ediție critică întocmită de C. Grecescu şi D. Simonescu, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei, R. P. R.

LĂZĂRESCU Emilian, 1957: "Despre piatra de mormânt a comitelui Laurenţiu şi câteva probleme arheologice şi istorice în legătură cu ea", în *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, seria Artă Plastică, IV, nr. 1–2, p. 109–127.

MĂNDESCU Dragoş, 2006: "Cea mai veche reprezentare grafică a pietrei tombale a comitelui «Laurencius de Longo Campo»", în *Istros*, XIII, p. 207–213.

MÂRŢU Flaminiu, 1982: "Gândirea orăşenească în contextul contactelor cu civilizațiile Apusului şi Răsăritului", în *Studii şi comunicări. Câmpulung*, II, p. 16–26.

MULŢESCU, Maria, MULŢESCU Alexandru, 2000: "Cloaşterul Câmpulungean", în *Argesis. Studii şi Comunicări*, seria Istorie, tom. IX, p. 117–140.

MULŢESCU, Maria, MULŢESCU Alexandru, 2002: "Câmpulung Muscel. Cronică", în *Argesis. Studii şi Comunicări*, seria Istorie, tom. XI, p. 461–476.

MURGESCU Bogdan, 1999: *Istorie românească – istorie universală (600–1800)*, ediția a II-a revăzută şi adăugită, Bucureşti, Editura Teora.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2004 (a): "Evoluția demografică a oraşului Câmpulung-Muscel (secolele XIV-XVIII)", în *Argesis. Studii şi comunicări*, seria Istorie, tom. XIII, p. 203–212.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2004 (b): "Prima încercare de transformare în paşalâc a Ţării Româneşti: episodul Mehmet Bey (1522)", în *Danubius*, vol. XXII, p. 25–32.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2007: "Puncte de vedere cu privire la geneza şi evoluția oraşului Câmpulung (sec. XIII-XVI)", în *IANUS*, nr. 12, p. 105–114.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2015: *O scurtă istorie a românilor*, vol. II: Secolele XV-XVII, Bucureşti, Editura Ars Docendi.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2012: *Câmpulungul medieval şi premodern*, Bucureşti, Editura Ars Docendi.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2014: *Nicolae Alexandru Voievod*, Bucureşti, Editura Ars Docendi.

NEAGOE Claudiu, VASILOIU Ionuţ, 2006: "Noi contribuţii privitoare la comunitatea catolică din Câmpulung-Muscel (secolele XVI-XVIII)", în *Civilizaţia urbană*

din spațiul românesc în secolele XVI-XVIII. Studii şi documente, volum editat de Laurențiu Rădvan, Iaşi, Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", p. 103–144.

OPREA, Radu, 2009: "Despre un reprezentant de seamă al patriciatului saşilor câmpulungeni din veacul al XV-lea", în *Argesis. Studii şi Comunicări,* seria Istorie, tom. XIII, p. 127–131.

OPRESCU, Carmen, 1981: "Considerații asupra genezei oraşului medieval Câmpulung-Muscel", în *Studii şi comunicări. Câmpulung,* vol. I, Câmpulung.

OPRESCU, Carmen, 2008: "Cronica oraşului", în *Atlasul istoric al oraşelor din România,* Seria B, Țara Românească, Fascicula 2: Câmpulung, coord. Dan Dumitru Iacob, Bucureşti, Editura Enciclopedică, p. 2–5.

OPRESCU, Carmen, CĂLIN Gerard, 2007: "Ansamblul bisericii catolice Sf. Iacob – Bărăția", în *IANUS,* nr. 12, p. 18–27.

PALADE Lucian Constantin, 2014: *Relațiile Moldovei cu Țara Românească în veacul al XV-lea,* Editura Ars Docendi.

PĂRNUȚĂ Gheorghe, TRÂMBACIU Ştefan, 1999: *Documemte şi inscripții privind istoria oraşului Câmpulung-Muscel,* vol. I-II, Bucureşti, Editura Semne.

PONCEA, Traian-Valentin, 1999, *Geneza oraşului românesc extra-carpatic (sec. X-XIV),* prefață de Radu Florescu, Bucureşti, Editura Biblioteca Bucureştilor.

POPESCU Florin Mihai, 1998: "Hram şi relicve în bisericile Câmpulungului. Despre hramul Cloaşterului (III)", an. V, nr. 142.

RĂDVAN Laurențiu, 2003: "Cu privire la patriciatul şi «săracii» din oraşul medieval din Țara Românească (secolele XIV-XVI)", în *Historia Urbana,* tom. XI, nr. 1–2, p. 49–71.

RĂDVAN Laurențiu, 2004: *Oraşele din Țara Românească până la sfârşitul secolului al XVI-lea,* Iaşi, Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza din Iaşi".

RĂDVAN Luarențiu, 2011: *Oraşele din Țările Române în Evul Mediu (sfârşitul sec. al XIII-lea – începutul sec. al XVI-lea),* Iaşi, Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza din Iaşi".

RĂUȚESCU, Ioan, 2009, *Câmpulung-Muscel. Monografie istorică,* ediție anastatică, Bucureşti, Editura Ars Docendi.

STOICESCU Nicolae, 1971: *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească şi Moldova, sec. XIV-XVII,* Bucureşti, Editura Enciclopedică Română.

ŞTEFĂNESCU Ştefan, 1972: *Populație şi societate. Studii de demografie istorică,* Cluj, Editura Dacia.

TRÂMBACIU Ştefan, 1997: *Câmpulungul medieval în cincizeci de documente, 1368–1800,* Bucureşti, Editura Semne.

VERGATTI Radu Ştefan, 1989: "Curtea de Argeş şi Câmpulung-Muscel reşedințe domneşti în raport de anterioritate sau contemporaneitate", în *Studii şi Comunicări. Câmpulung,* vol. V, p. 3–9.

VERGATTI Radu Ştefan, 2008: "Oraşul Câmpulung şi primii Basarabi", în *Argesis. Studii şi Comunicări,* seria Istorie, tom. XVII, p. 75–80.

The Relations between the Rulers of Wallachia and the City of Câmpulung (Late 15th Century – First Decades of the 16th Century)

Marilena-Doinița Țîrlescu

("Romanians and Romania in the European context, 14th–20th centuries" Master's programme, Faculty of Theology, Letters, History and Arts, University of Pitești)

In this article we will aim to reconstruct, as much as possible, based on the historical sources we possess so far, the relations that the rulers of Wallachia had with the city of Câmpulung at the end of the 15th century and during the first half of the 16th century.

Since its appearance, at the end of the 13th century, the evolution of Câmpulung was influenced both by its geographical position and by the attention paid to this city by the rulers of Wallachia, starting with the first Basarabi. In Alexandru Ciocîltan's opinion, the natural setting had a decisive role in the development of this old urban settlement, located "close to the southern exit of the Rucăr-Bran corridor, on the main road that connected Wallachia to Transylvania" (Ciocîltan, 2015, 148).

Due to its geographical position, Câmpulung became one of the most important commercial centres of Wallachia, according to some starting with the second half of the 14th century (Rădvan, 2004, 270–271), and according to others starting with the first decades of the 15th century (Meteş, 1920, 31). According to Dinu C. Giurescu, the rulers of Wallachia supported the local merchants, which allowed the development of domestic trade, their activities bringing important revenues to the country through the customs duties imposed at certain times (Giurescu, 1973, 144).

Relatively recently, the researcher Alexandru Ciocîltan expressed an opinion similar to the one held in the past by Dinu C. Giurescu, stating that local merchants were supported by certain rulers, especially by those from the

second half of the 15th century and from the first decades of the 16th century (Ciocîltan, 2015, 34).

For a long time, the number of local merchants was much smaller compared to that of Brașov merchants, favoured, since the time of Vladislav I, by the rulers of Wallachia and Mircea cel Bătrân (Neagoe, 2015, 122). However, from the second half of the 15th century, the number of Romanian merchants began to increase, as they were clearly favoured by the rulers of Wallachia, who granted them various exemptions and benefits (Manolescu, 1957, 124).

Even since the first part of the 20th century, the historian Nicolae Iorga revealed that in the internal documents from the beginning of the 16th century the names of many Romanian merchants were recorded, such as: "Rădilă, Stoica, Gonțea, Dumitru, Florea, Stoica Plăcinta, Stan Cozma, Neacşul Stan, Stoica Turcoane, Şerb, Buda, Cucurig, David, Boncilă, Neacşul, Raseşa" (Iorga, 1925, 144).

According to certain Argeş researchers, the city of Câmpulung was an important commercial centre, a fact proved not only by the interest shown to it by the rulers of Wallachia (Mulțescu, 2002, 463), but also by the accounts of some foreign travellers. For example, Sebastian Münster recorded in the middle of the 16th century that goods and products brought from Târgovişte were transited through Transylvania via this city (*Călători străini*, 1970, II, 513).

Other researchers pointed out that here in Câmpulung there was an "old voivodship residence of Wallachia", which granted the settlement an "intense commercial development over time" (Pungoi, 2013, 137). In the opinion of the historian Laurențiu Rădvan, Câmpulung was "an attractive market for merchants from the country, from Transylvania, Hungary or from the south of the Danube" (Rădvan, 2011, 183). In addition, here, in Câmpulung, there would have been a "warehouse" of the country, under the authority and protection of the rulers, and the commercial connections of this city were mainly oriented towards Braşov.

At the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th, according to Alexandru Ciocîltan, the citizens of Câmpulung would have benefited from a series of "privileges" (Ciocîltan, 2015, 81), granted to them by such rulers as Nicolae Alexandru, Mircea cel Bătrân, Vlad Dracul, Vladislav al II, Neagoe Basarab, Radu de la Afumați etc. (Ciocîltan, 2015, 88).

The most important source the old "privileges" of the townspeople from Câmpulung are mentioned in remains to this day the *Ocolnica* of Câmpulung city. Among these "privileges" we mention: the prohibition imposed to any foreigner as regards the right to own any property in the city of Câmpulung; the right of the townspeople to be tried by the mayor, the 12 city councillors and the elders of the city; the right of the citizens to control the hearth of the

city but also the mountains near it. At the same time, this *Ocolnica* included the fiscal exemptions granted to the city of Câmpulung by the rulers of Wallachia (Trâmbaciu and Pârnuță, [1997]; Ciocîltan, 2015, 90).

Since the end of the 15th century, more precisely during the first reign of Basarab IV, called "cel Tânăr" (1474–1475), the city of Câmpulung had become one of the most important commercial centres of Wallachia recorded in a privilege granted to the people of Brașov in 1474. The Ruler allowed the Saxons from Brașov to come and do business in Târgoviște, where the royal residence was, but also in Târgovor and Câmpulung (Bogdan, 1902, 81, nr. LXXXII).

The rulers of Wallachia sent letters to their neighbours in Brașov, asking them to come and buy the products they wanted from Câmpulung. For example, Mihnea cel Rău (1508–1509, 1510) informed the people of Brașov that there was enough wax in Câmpulung, and they could come and buy the quantity desired (Tocilescu, 1931, 212, no. 223). On the other hand, some rulers granted a series of privileges to the merchants from Brașov, further strengthening the trade ties between Câmpulung and Brașov. The fact is proved, as clearly as possible, by a document issued by the chancellery of Vlad Călugărul, on November 15, 1482. The ruler ordered the chief magistrates of the city and customs officers from all over the country not to collect customs duties from the people of Brașov (*DRH,* B, I, 295, nr. 182).

An important factor that contributed to the economic development and prosperity of the city of Câmpulung was the existence of a Romanian urban elite, for which the rulers of Wallachia intervened whenever necessary to defend their innocence, but more especially their economic and commercial interests. An important member of the urban elite in Câmpulung was the merchant Rădilă, whom the historian Radu Manolescu considered a merchant of Romanian origin from Wallachia (Manolescu, 1957, 120).

The first ruler who intervened in his favour was Basarab IV cel Tânăr, during his third reign (1480–1481): on April 14, 1481, he asked the people of Brașov to do him justice (Tocilescu, 1931, 140, no. 148).

Another ruler, Vlad Călugărul (1481, 1482–1495) sought to do him justice, in the autumn of 1482, in a trial that Rădilă had with the people of Brașov because of a Turkish merchant (Bogdan, 1905, 187, no. CLIV). Also, Radu cel Mare (1495–1508) intervened, between the years 1503–1508, in favour of the same Rădilă from Câmpulung, in conflict with another merchant, namely Blaj the Saxon from Brașov, for 18,000 knives. The ruler asked the people of Brașov that the two merchants in conflict be subject to the judgment of the mayor and the prosecutors of the city of Brașov or to be sent to Wallachia to be tried by him (Bogdan, 1905, 221, nr. CLXXXV).

Among the famous townspeople of Câmpulung, from the beginning of

the 16th century, we can find Neacşu, still famous today for the letter sent (in Romanian) in the summer of 1521 to Johannes Bengner, a prominent representative of the Saxon urban elite from Brașov, on the Ottoman expedition to Belgrade (Tocilescu, 456, no. 456).

The economic transformations and social mutations that took place in the cities of Wallachia and especially in the city of Câmpulung at the beginning of the 16th century determined new types of relations, but also conflict situations that only the ruler could solve (Neagoe, 2012, 46). Such a situation is recorded in a document written in the chancellery of Radu de la Afumați, on October 18, 1525. At that time, the ruler of Wallachia wrote to the Câmpulung mayor and city councillors to return everything taken from Ivan, son of Voico, for some older debts he had paid (*DRH*, B, II, 1972, 460, nr. 245).

The right to collect the royal customs from Câmpulung, during the investigated period, belonged exclusively to the ruler, it being collected by his representative in the city, *the chief magistrate of the city* (*pârcălabul)*. We specify here that the oldest mention of the "chief magistrates of the city" dates from the reign of Vladislav II (1447–1456), more precisely from August 7, 1451 (*DRH*, B, I, 186–187, no. 106). As for the oldest attestation of a chief magistrate of the city in Câmpulung, it is much later and dates from May 9, 1604 (*DIR*, B, XVII century, I, 1951, 122, no. 128; Neagoe, 2013, 207).

As in other cities, the "fair customs" was a tax, paid by all social categories, for products bought or sold (Giurescu, 1973, 146). According to internal documents, the local administration of Câmpulung was first mentioned during the reign of Radu de la Afumați, more precisely on October 18, 1525 (DRH, B, II, 1972, 460, no. 245), even if some historians consider Neacşu as the first *jude*ț (mayor) of the city, since 1521 (Băjan, 1929, 55; Răuțescu, 1943, 146; Mârțu, 1980, 248).

Last but not least, we must mention the fact that some of the famous townspeople of Câmpulung performed, at certain moments, important diplomatic tasks, on behalf of the rulers of Wallachia. Undoubtedly, Neacşu brought such services to Vlad Înecatul (Vlad the Drowned) (1530–1532) (Tocilescu, 1931, 318, no. 321). Likewise, Popa Petru from Câmpulung had been sent to Brașov to solve some tasks for Neagoe Basarab (1512–1521) (Tocilescu, 1931, 296, no. 300).

Bibliographical references

BĂJAN Dumitru I., 1929: *Documente de la Arhivele statului*, vol. I (1586–1840), Bucureşti.

BOGDAN Ioan, 1905: *Documente cu privire la relațiile Țării Româneşti cu Braşovul şi cu Țara Ungurească în sec. XV şi XVI*, Bucureşti, Institutul de arte grafice Carol Göbl.

Călători străini, 1970: *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. II, îngrijit de Maria Holban (redactor responsabil), M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru şi Paul Cernovodeanu, Bucureşti, Editura Ştiințifică.

CIOCÎLTAN Alexandru, 2015: *Comunitățile germane la Sud de Carpați în Evul Mediu (secolele XIII-XVIII)*, Brăila, Editura Istros.

DIR, B, veacul XVII, 1951: *Documente privind istoria României*, B. Țara Românească, veacul XVII, vol. I (*1601–1610*), redactor responsabil: Mihail Roller, comitetul de redacție: I. Ionaşcu, L. Lăzărescu-Ionescu, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei R. P. R.

DRH, B, 1966: *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, B. Țara Românească, vol. I (*1247–1500)*, întocmit de P. P. Panaitescu şi Damaschin Mioc, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei R.S.R.

DRH, B, 1972; *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, B. Țara Românească, vol. II (1501–1525), volum întocmit de Ştefan Ştefănescu şi Olimpia Diaconescu, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1972.

GIURESCU Dinu C., 1973: Ț*ara Românească în secolele XIV-XV*, Bucureşti, Editura Ştiințifică.

IORGA Nicolae, 1925: *Istoria comerțului romănesc*, vol. I, Bucureşti, Tipografia "Tiparul românesc".

MANOLESCU Radu, 1957: "Schimbul de mărfuri dintre Țara Românească şi Brasov în prima jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea", în *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie*, vol. II, Bucureşti, p. 116–204.

MÂRȚU Flaminiu, 1980: "Cu privire la identificarea lui Neacşu, emitentul primei scrisori cunoscute în limba română", în *Studii şi comunicări*, vol. V, p. 245–251.

METEŞ Ştefan, 1920: *Relațiile comerciale ale Țerii-Româneşti cu Ardealul până în veacul al XVIII-lea*, Sighişoara, Tipografia lui W. Krafft.

MULȚESCU Maria, MULȚESCU Alexandru, 2002: "Câmpulung Muscel. Cronică", în *Argesis. Studii şi comunicări*, seria Istorie, tom. XI, Piteşti, p. 461–476.

NEAGOE, Claudiu, 2012: *Câmpulungul medieval şi premodern*, Bucureşti, Ars Docendi.

NEAGOE, Claudiu, 2013: "Câteva precizări referitoare la familia lui Neacşu pârcălabul din Câmpulung (veacul al XVII-lea)", în *Cultură, istorie şi societate*, vol. II, editat de Ştefan Ştefănescu şi Claudiu Neagoe, Bucureşti, Editura Ars Docendi, p. 207–211.

NEAGOE Claudiu, 2015: *O scurtă istorie a românilor*, vol. II: *Secolele XV-XVII*, Bucureşti, Editura Ars Docendi.

PUNGOI, Anca Elena, 2013: "Ctitorii câmpulungeni reprezentați în tablourile votive", în *Argesis, Studii şi comunicări*, seria Istorie, tom. XXII, Piteşti, p. 137–150.

RĂDVAN, Laurențiu, 2004: *Oraşele din Țara Românească până la sfârşitul secolului al XVI-lea*, Iaşi, Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iaşi.

RĂDVAN, Laurențiu, 2011: *Oraşul din spațiul românesc între Orient şi Occident.*

Tranziția de la medievalitate la modernitate, Iaşi, Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iaşi.

RĂUȚESCU Ioan, 1943: *Câmpulung-Muscel. Monografie istorică,* Câmpulung, Tipografia Gh. Gh. Vlădescu.

TRÂMBACIU Ştefan, Pârnuță Gheorghe, [1997]: *Pânza (Ocolnica) cu privilegii ale oraşului Câmpulung Muscel, 1215–1747,* Piteşti, Editura Cultura.

TOCILESCU, Gr., 1931: *534 documente istorice slavo-române din Țara Românească şi Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul (1346–1603),* Bucureşti.

Gastronomic Culture in Wallachia (Late 15th Century – First Decades of the 16th Century)

Marin Toma
(Piteşti Cultural Centre)

Food is culture and civilization. Quite quickly and in historical times we know nothing about, it ceased to be a mere necessity. Food is felt (you see it, you feel it, you taste it, you hear it and especially you smell it), is talked about and is lived. Food is alive. Like history. Writing about history means writing about life and not setting aside any historical source. The same is valid for writing about food. Writing about gastronomic history means letting your imagination run wild looking for information everywhere: what people ate, how food was cooked and who cooked it, when it was cooked and when it was eaten, food and social identity (woman, man, child, poor and rich; noble, monk, soldier, etc.); what were the ingredients, how they were combined and for what purpose: different tastes and colours; where it was cooked and where it was eaten; crockery and cutlery; vocabulary items; food in popular culture: fairy tales, poems, proverbs and riddles about food; rules of conduct at the table; hunger and abundance; the logistics of supplying food to large urban centres and especially to armies during the war; trade in culinary products; the excess of culinary aesthetics (musicians coming out of baked pies or culinary paintings depicting battle scenes); food and health (physical and spiritual; quantity vs. quality); forbidden foods (for medical, cultural, religious reasons) and the list can continue on many pages (Elias, 2002; Freedman, 2008; Sarti, 2008).

We consider it important to mention that the gastronomy of the past does not have so much in common with that of our present. Even though many of the ingredients and maybe the recipes are about the same, they no longer have the taste of those times (nor the shape, colour, nutritional qualities, etc.). The cereals of today are no longer those of the Romanian Middle Ages, and the latter were definitely not similar to those of ancient times.

Moreover, culinary art is dynamic, is constantly changing, so it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify the so-called national cuisines. Throughout human history, the boundaries between states have been political, administrative, military; very rarely cultural as well. It has almost always been considered that the soul of a society is also expressed through the way food is prepared. What people eat may be a reflection of the environment, but it is not a completely dependent reality. Gastronomy expresses a perception that can last several centuries (as is the case of French wines in the Bordeaux region) or a few moments.

As appropriate, when we study the gastronomy of a geographical area in a certain historical period, the main sources we turn to are cookbooks. Unfortunately, for Wallachia, the first cookbook we know dates back to the time of Constantin Brâncoveanu, most probably written by the steward Constantin Cantacuzino (Constantinescu and Cazacu, 1997). Cookbooks are found in western countries such as England, Italy, France and many gastronomic details can be found in published works on culinary art in neighbouring countries (Poland, Hungary, the Ottoman Empire).

We note, for comparison, some gastronomic details from a Hungarian cookbook from Transylvania, apparently belonging to Gyulafy Lestar, edited by Radvanszky Bela much later, written in the second half of the 16th century (we discovered it only in an online version, translated into English). The cookbook includes many beef recipes: with parsley; garlic sauce; pepper; fried with tarragon and sage sauce; with juniper berries; rice; green peas; gooseberries, carrots, sorrel, asparagus, parsnips, cabbage leaves, horseradish, cabbage, onions and vinegar, must, marjoram and sage; beef tongue in different combinations: red sauce, salty; beef liver with black pepper, cow's trotters with garlic or clove sauce; salted veal, veal with sour sauce, spicy sauce, black pepper, lemon juice; lamb with: red cabbage, vinegar and onions, carrots, sauce, rice, peas, lentils, salted milk; pork: garlic, onion, black pepper, horseradish, various sauces, cloves, pork sausages; game meat: deer, hare. Among the fish mentioned in the recipes we find pike, carp, flax, sturgeon, catfish, beluga, trout, perch, cod, eel, anchovies, salmon, etc. (salt, slices of ham, garlic, various spicy sauces, onions). Other recipes besides meat and fish: donuts, almond paste, almond with cheese, salads of: asparagus, capers, hops, chicory, dandelion, carrots, cabbage, etc.; strudel (pie); dairy recipes; sauces: almonds, ginger, herb sauce, nuts; plums; apples; pear, rice, fig, strawberry, cherry cakes; eggs; mushrooms; artichoke; green peas; green beans; cucumber.

* * *

In light of the description above, in what Wallachian gastronomy in the time of Neacşu of Câmpulung is concerned, we can build, with reservations, of course, a culinary model.

The bread (white, made of white wheat flour for the elites; of other grains – rye, for example – for the people) was quite fresh, only the less affluent would eat stale bread. Often, however, day-old bread was sliced and turned into platters, with various dishes served on such "dishes." Sometimes it was grated and dipped in sauces.

The taste that we can only "guess" from the documents was obtained by adding spices. In addition to salt and garlic, as the commercial documents show (see Manolescu, 1957), saffron, cumin, cinnamon, cloves, ginger, honey and others were also used. Lemons, grapes, and even wine and almond milk were also used to make food tasty. If the chef was interested in the colour of the dish, he chose the right ingredients for the result desired (saffron for yellow, parsley for green, etc.). For the same purpose, mint, cherries, sorrel, sour fruit juice and vinegar could be used for colour and taste. Among the other ingredients, such vegetables as cabbage, turnips, leeks, zucchini, beans and lentils, peas, spinach, orache spinach, nettles, parsnips, carrots, etc. could be found.

According to the commercial documents, people would eat a lot of fish (Manolescu, 1957, 120, 126–127, 131), especially on fasting days. Fish was at that time a great wealth of Wallachia; there were large ponds, owned by the rulers, boyars, monasteries and we also know of some obligations of the peasants to the ruler regarding fishing (*Instituții feudale*, 1988, 140 and 496). The fish was consumed in the country and was also exported, salted, abroad, most often through intermediaries (Wallachian merchants), but sometimes foreign merchants could buy it directly from producers. The commercial documents indicate massive exports of carp, pike, cod, catfish, mackerel, bream, pikeperch; but also of caviar, cod, pike and carp roe. Some mentions of Western cuisine specify that figs and raisins were used as a garnish for fish. And we also know that both are found in the Romanian space.

Most elite dishes were based on meat. They ate beef, pork, sheep, poultry, as well as game meat (deer, wild birds: quail, partridges, rabbits, etc.) We believe that most of the times the cooked meat was accompanied by sauces. Apart from game, some other forest products were also used among the ingredients of the Wallachian cuisine at that time: mushrooms, berries; while in one's own household, one could bring aside various vegetables and roots, fruits such as apples, pears, plums and others.

Another source of ingredients and dishes was represented by eggs and dairy products (cheese, milk, pressed cheese, curd, etc.).

The methods of preparation were boiling, baking, roasting and frying. The

first was the most used, being the easiest; few households were prepared and equipped for baking, roasting and frying (especially meat). Food was cooked with butter, oil, but also with lard. The taste varied depending on the ingredients and their quantity and could be both sour and sweet and salty. Sweets did not yet exist as a dessert (this is a concept of the modern era), but various tarts and pies were certainly consumed. Honey was used for sweetening, probably more than sugar (although known, it will be widely used later). Of course, the elites ate their food in one way and the other social categories in another. We do not know whether the dishes were brought one at a time or all at once; they may have always been cold; we do not know if there was an order of their serving. Regarding the places where people ate, we can appreciate that in addition to private homes and food eaten on the road, there were places where travellers could also dine, not just sleep (we cannot call them restaurants, certainly not in the modern sense – probably a kind of "menu of the day" was served and sometimes only between certain hours, not even throughout the whole day).

* * *

Among the most important sources on the daily life of the Romanian Principalities in the medieval and premodern periods are the stories of foreign travellers, published in several volumes in the last half century. As the centuries go by, these writings become more numerous and richer in information about the Romanian social and cultural realities (not only the political, economic and military aspects). Unfortunately, from what has been discovered and published so far, they are not generous in terms of gastronomy for the period we are studying.

For the 16th century, even if not with relevant gastronomic details, an extremely useful source is the work Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie (The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to His Son Theodosius). A short fragment of it is called "The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab the Voivode to his son Theodosius and to other rulers, to all. How the rulers will sit at table and eat and drink." (Învățăturile, 2020, 208–218).

Neagoe Basarab considers it important for a voivode to dine with his boyars, regardless of their wealth and role in the state. For the Romanian ruler, the body craves food and drink, then, of course, it also craves joy. His advice is based on balance, temperance and avoidance of drunkenness. For him, man is between life and death and it is good not to fully release our minds to joy. He advises his son to be pleasant and cheerful before God, who is the one who anointed him to rule, and not the people, and to surround himself with good and righteous servants, so that he too may rule the country by the same

values. Neagoe Basarab also writes that it is in accordance with the customs of the country that there should be music and games at these royal feasts, and that the Ruler should offer them to the diners, but the former should behave thoughtfully and not bow his mind to them, remaining in a perfect and sane state of mind. And as for drinking, it weighs down the body, then the mind, and finally the soul, and is of no use. On the contrary. The Ruler is advised to be moderate, but to make sure that his guests at the table have as much drink as they want and to make his mind prevail against theirs and not the other way around. In these situations, the Ruler of the land had better not give anything to anyone drunk, nor get angry and punish, but rather be forgiving of all that his servants will do and say in a state of drunkenness because he brought them in that state in order to know them. "As you made him drunk, indulge it", Neagoe writes. Moreover, in what the ceremonial of the royal feasts are concerned, we are told about the existence of precise rules regarding the places occupied by each of those present. The Ruler is advised to be very careful not to change these places so as not to make those concerned suffer, not knowing what upset the voivode: "For that reason his heart is sorrowful and hurts like a wound. Human heart is like a bottle, if the bottle breaks, with what can you fix it?". Further on, in another place (**Învățăturile**, 2020, 227), Neagoe advises his son on how to arrange meals for the visits of important messengers. Whenever possible, it was considered appropriate for the envoy to be offered treats and feasts before receiving the answer. The meal had to be organized using all existing luxuries: from silver glasses to many dishes brought, one after the other, and better and sweeter drinks.

* * *

At the end of this gastronomic journey, I propose you to imagine the Romanian peasant of five hundred years ago, sitting on a chair in the house, leaning on the wall, in front of the table, dipping a loaf of old bread in the bowl gravy and eating greedily, before throwing a few more snacks in his satchel and going to work. It resembles and, yet, it doesn't, some memories of our grandparents. Imagine Neagoe Basarab receiving his boyars at the table according to the advice written to his son. Let us remember Neacşu of Câmpulung (let us imagine him as each of us wishes), and see him at home, in Câmpulung, sitting at the table and tasting with joy and pleasure all the dishes brought by the chefs. And, why not: let us imagine him doing business with various foods (Manolescu, 1957, 126–127 and 131). We are now half a millennium away from all that world. And yet, history decreases the distance in time and sometimes makes it less linear. The past is not so far away, but rather closer, more

familiar. We do not intend solely to look into it and write it. We do not just want to talk about it. Today, we want more: to feel it. To make it a part of us. History (and not just the gastronomic one) is also a feeling.

Bibliographical references

CONSTANTINESCU Ioana, CAZACU Matei, 1997: *O lume într-o carte de bucate. Manuscris din epoca brâncovenească*, Bucureşti.

Instituţii feudale, 1988: *Instituţii feudale din Ţările Române. Dicţionar,* coordonatori: Ovid Sachelarie şi Nicolae Stoicescu, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei R. S. R.

Învăţăturile, 2020: *Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie,* ediţie de Dan Zamfirescu, Bucureşti, Academia Română, Fundaţia Naţională pentru Ştiinţă şi Artă.

ELIAS Norbert, 2002: *Procesul civilizării,* vol. I, Iaşi, Editura Polirom

FREEDMAN Paul (coord.), 2008: *O istorie a gustului,* Bucureşti, Editura Vellant.

MANOLESCU Radu, 1957: "Schimbul de mărfuri dintre Ţara Românească şi Braşov în prima jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea", în *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie*, vol. II, Bucureşti, p. 117–204.

SARTI Raffaela, 2008: *Vita di casa. Abitare, mangiare, vestire nell'Europa moderna*, Bari, Editori Laterza.

Cookbook:

http://www.medievalcookery.com/etexts/transylvania-v104.pdf (accessed on 14.04.2020)